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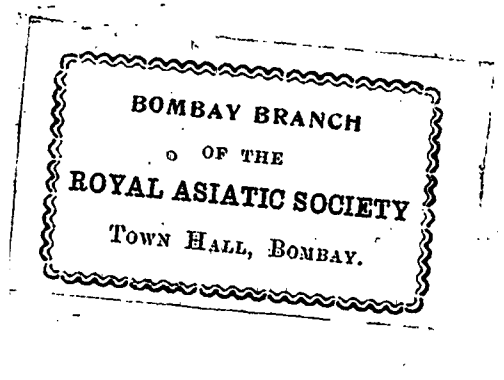

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

SECOND MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

EDITED BY

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HIS BROTHER,

CHARLES VANE, MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY,

G.C.B., ETC.

VOL. III.

COMPLETION OF THE LEGISLATIVE UNION.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CORRESPONDENCE, 1799, CONTINUED.

1799.		PAGE
Nov. 13.	The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh—Uniting and Identifying the Churches of England and Ireland	1
20.	The Rev. Dr. Troy to Robert Marshall, Esq.—Protest on the part of the Catholic Clergy against an imputation of disloyalty	9
23.	The Right Hon. Geo[illegible]ose to the Right Hon. Isaac Corry—Supply of provisi[illegible]	10
26.	Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh—Sentiments of Lord Downshire on the Union	*ib.*
Dec. 11.	Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh—Succession to a vacant Roman Catholic Bishopric—Election of a new Pope	12
	Enclosing:	
	Extract of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Concanen to the Rev. Mr. Fallon, conveying his resignation of a Bishopric	13
11.	Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh, enclosing:	
	Letter from Cardinal Borgia to Sir J. C. Hippisley, dated September 14, 1799—Provision for the Cardinal Duke of York	14
16.	James Verner, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh—Opposition to the Union in the County Armagh	18
16.	Lord Castlereagh to Sir J. C. Hippisley—Roman Catholic Clergy	19
18.	General Loftus to Lord Castlereagh—His attachment to the Union	*ib.*
21.	Sir James S. Blackwood to Lord Castlereagh—Support of the Union	20

1799. PAGE

Dec. 24. Mr. Luke Fox to Lord Castlereagh—Establishment for the Roman Catholic Clergy—Maynooth—Ignorance of the Priests—Necessity of Education . . 21

26. Marquess of Buckingham to Lord Castlereagh—Articles of the Union 23

SUPPLEMENT.

I. THE UNION.

Hints on the Employment of Writers in favour of a Union, by the Bishop of Meath 26

Outlines of a Union, by Mr. Anderson 27

Suggestions for a Union 35

General Principles of a Union 41

Mr. Edward Cooke's Notes in favour of the Union . . 54

Project for the Representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament 56

On reducing the Irish Boroughs, October 8, 1799 . . 58

Memorandum relative to the Representation of Ireland, September 23, 1799 61

Suggestions of the Lord-Lieutenant, relative to the Representation 68

Remarks on the Parliamentary Resolutions respecting the Union . 69

CATHOLICS.

Memorial of the Catholic Prelates of Ireland, praying for the foundation of a Seminary for education of Clergy, January 14, 1794 72

Accounts of the Seminary at Maynooth, from its foundation . 75

Statement of the Trustees relative to the Students at Maynooth . 77

Papers communicated by Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to the Rev. Dr. Troy, January 8, 1794—Provision for the Catholic Clergy of Scotland and Ireland—Relations with Rome—Cardinal York—Reform of Catholic Colleges . 80

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Hobart, January 12, 1794—Provision for the Catholic Clergy—The Union—Organ of Communication with the Pope—The Friars—Laws respecting the Catholics . 93

Cardinal Zelada, Secretary of State to his Holiness, to Sir J. C. Hippisley—Protection of Italy by England—Supply of the English Fleet, August 31, 1793 . . . . *ib.*

Circular Letter from the Holy See to the Bishops of Ireland, enjoining loyalty and obedience 95

Extract of a Letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State to Lord Grenville, September, 1793—Protection of England for the Holy See solicited—Good understanding of Rome with England . 97

PAGE

Extract of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Sir J. C. Hippisley, October 29, 1793, conveying Thanks for his exertions in the public service 99

The Cardinal Secretary of State to Sir J. C. Hippisley, March 31, 1794—Frauds in supply of Provisions to the English Fleet—Party of English Cavalry, landed in the Roman territory, in distress . . . . . *ib.*

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Hobart, February 10, 1799—Catholic Question—The Union—Participation of Catholic Priests in the Rebellion—Appointment of Catholic Bishops—Dr. Troy, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin—Secular and Regular Clergy of Rome—Extract from the Memorial of Mousignor Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide at Rome, concerning the Roman Catholic Establishments and Missions in the British Dominions—Communication of Government with the Catholic Priests—Examination of Rescripts from the See of Rome—Laws against the Catholics—Relations with Rome—Provision for the Catholic Priests 104

Extract from Mr. Edmund Burke's Letter to Dr. Hussey, May 18, 1795—Meeting of the Catholics—Grievances—Benefits of English connection to Ireland—United Irishmen—Position of the Irish Catholics 120

Memorandum relative to the Consecration Pontifical Oath, taken by Catholic Prelates—The doctrine of the See of Rome regarding her dominion—The College of Cardinals to the Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, on the same subject—Abstract of the Oath, April 15, 1796 126

Addition to the Romish Catechism, on the doctrine of Obedience to Temporal Powers 134

Suggestion of an Oath, or Test, for Roman Catholics . . . 136

——— to Lord Castlereagh, October 5, 1799—Power of the Popes in England—Services of Sir J. C. Hippisley—Education of the Irish Priesthood—Maynooth—Appointment of Parochial Priests—Dignities in the Roman Catholic Church—Filling up of Vacancies—Claims of the Church of Rome—Bulls, Briefs, Rescripts, &c.—Regular and Secular Priests—Catholic Schools—Confession and Absolution 141

Statutes passed in the reign of George III., for relief of the Roman Catholics in Ireland 158

III. THE PRESBYTERIANS.

On the Settlement of Presbyterians in Ulster, and the Grants from the Crown for the maintenance of their Clergy . . 161

Outline of the Discipline and Church Government of the General Synod of Ulster 163

PAGE

The Rev. Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh, April 27, 1799—Congregations under the care of the General Synod of Ulster . 165
Plan for strengthening the connection between the Government and the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster . . . 172

IV. TRADE, COMMERCE, REVENUE, ETC.

Mr. J. Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, November 5, 1799—Quantity of Beer, Ale, and Spirits made in Ireland . . . 175
Mr. J. Beresford to Mr. Cooke, November 27, 1799—Revenue of Ireland 178
Ideas of the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons concerning a Commercial arrangement—Imported Articles, and the Principle of Open Trade 180
Mr. Thomas Irving to Lord Auckland on Commercial arrangements, October 31, 1799 183
Observations on the Commercial Article [of the Union]—Protecting Duties for Ireland 187
Notes on the Commercial Article, by Lord Castlereagh . . 188
Comparative Statement of Exports and Imports—Statement of Consumption—Value of British and Irish Commerce . . 191
Consumption of Ireland—Account of Quantities and Value of Articles consumed in Ireland annually . . . 194
Commerce and Consumption of Great Britain 195
Value of Principal Imports and Exports between Great Britain and Ireland 197
Irish Loans raised in England 198
Memorandum as to Loans, &c., as affected by a Union . . 201
Memorandum on Irish Cotton Manufactures . . . 204
Memorandum relative to Cottons, by Mr. Francis French . 205
Proposed Compensation to Cotton Manufacturers . . 207

CORRESPONDENCE, 1800.

Review of Parliamentary Proceedings, in connection with the Union, &c., during the year 1800 . . 210
Jan. 8. Myles Keon, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh—His exertions in favour of the Union 222
10. Lord De Clifford to Lord Castlereagh, announcing his intention to oppose the Union . . . 223
13. Robert Bradshaw, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh—Public opinion in the North of Ireland on the Union . . 224
14. The Right Hon. John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, to Lord Castlereagh, declining his Lordship's invitation to the Castle 225
14. Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. John Foster, in explanation 226

1800. PAGE

Jan. 17. The Rev. H. Dowling, R. C. Minister, to Lord Castlereagh —Rash and intemperate conduct of the Catholics of Dublin—Decided opinion of the Catholic Clergy in favour of Union 226

24. The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh—Reinforcements to Ireland 227

25. Lord Landaff to Lord Castlereagh—Opposition to the Union in Tipperary 228

31. James Gordon, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh—Romanist opposition to the Union 229

31. The Bishop of Clonfert to Lord Castlereagh—Opposition of Trinity College to the Union . . . . *ib.*

Feb. 2. Anonymous Letter to Lord Castlereagh—Opposition of Military bodies to the Union 230

2. Captain Boyd to Lord Castlereagh—Petition against the Union, sent for signature to Officers and Soldiers, by Lord Downshire 231

6. Major-General Sir Charles Ross to Major Matthews—Queries respecting Petition signed by the Downshire Militia against the Union 232

6. Major Matthews to Major-General Sir Charles Ross, declining to give any answer to his Queries . . 233

7. Major-General Sir Charles Ross to Lieut.-Colonel Littlehales—Particulars connected with the signing of an Anti-Union Petition by the Downshire Militia . *ib.*

13. The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh—Conduct of Lord Downshire—Proceedings of the Lord-Lieutenant thereupon—Removal of Major Matthews . . 235

13. Lord Grenville to Lord Castlereagh—Controverted Elections—Union 237

15. Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland—Proposed Parliamentary Inquiry into the conduct of Lord Downshire and Major Matthews 239

17. The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis—Proceedings against, and removal of Lord Downshire . . 240

19. William Rogers, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh—Petition against the Union 242

20. Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Carrying of the First Resolution in favour of the Union . . . *ib.*

20. The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant—Decision in favour of the Union 243

25. The Earl of Carysfort to Lord Castlereagh—Irish Peerage under the Union 244

March Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Parliamentary conduct of the Union 245

1800.		PAGE
Mar. 6.	Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Trade with Barbary—French and Channel Fleets—Reinforcements to Ireland	246
6.	The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis—Supply of Corn for Ireland	*ib.*
6.	The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis—Cotton duties	248
6.	Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Cotton duties—Export of Wool	*ib.*
6.	Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Cotton duties	249
7.	Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh—Cotton duties	250
7.	Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. George Rose—Opposition to the proposed duties on Cotton	251
10.	The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh—Union of the Churches of England and Ireland—Episcopal Representation	253
12.	The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh—Alleged impatience of Administration at the delay of the Union	256
23.	Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Approval of his Conduct—Violent opposition of the Speaker—Policy of Austria	257
26.	Mr. Wickham to Lord Camden—Posture of Continental affairs	259
April 5.	Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Loan to Ireland—Duties on Woollens—Primacy of Ireland—Civil List—Reinforcements—Opposition	260
5.	Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Question of Adjournment	262
5.	Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Delay of a debate—Countervailing duties	*ib.*
6.	Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—The Address—Countervailing duties	265
7.	Lord Glandore to Lord Castlereagh—Representative Peers for Ireland	266
9.	The Rev. Dr. Bruce to Lord Castlereagh—Presbyterian Interests—The Union	*ib.*
10.	The Right Hon. George Rose to Lord Castlereagh—Countervailing and Excise Duties	270
11.	Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Approval of his conduct in Ireland—Lord Camden's Irish Administration—distasteful Proceedings of Lord Cornwallis—Treatment of Rebels—Conduct of the Speaker	271
11.	Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke—Woollen Duties	274
11.	Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Presentation of an Address—Woollen Duties	276
13.	Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—The Union—Woollen and Countervailing Duties—Representation of Ireland—Income Bill—Buonaparte	*ib*

1800. PAGE
April 17. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Irish Business in Parliament—Countervailing Duties . . 278
18. The Right Hon. J. Beresford to Lord Castlereagh—Woollen, Countervailing, and Excise Duties . 280
21. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—The Duties on Wool and Cotton—Place Bill 283
21. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Introduction of the Articles of Union in Parliament, by Mr. Pitt—Representative Peers . . . . *ib.*
22. Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis—Progress of the Question of Union in Parliament—State of France . . 284
22. Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis—Debates upon the Union 286
26. The Rev. Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh—Rights, Privileges, and Claims of Dissenters . . 287
28. Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis—Progress of the Debates—Reinforcements—Foreign Affairs . . . 291
28. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Countervailing Duties—Italian Campaign 292
May 1. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh — Woollen Duties — Course of the Debates — Union of the Churches 293
2. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Union of the Churches—Opposition—Duties . . . 295
3. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rose—Protecting and Countervailing Duties—Manufactures . . . 296
5. Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis—Progress of the Union—Defeat of Massena 299
5. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Compensations . 300
6. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Duties—Compensation Bill—Reinforcements . . . . *ib.*
7. The Right Hon. J. Beresford to Lord Castlereagh—Countervailing Duties 301
8. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rose—Countervailing Duties . 303
8. The Rev. Dr. Black to Lord Castlereagh—Sentiments of the Dissenting Body 304
14. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. King—Boroughs to be represented—Hearth and Window Tax . . 305
19. The Right Hon. G. Rose, to Lord Castlereagh—Countervailing Duties 306
21. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Introduction of the Act of Union—Gloomy Aspect of Affairs . 307
26. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Proceedings in Parliament respecting the Act of Union . 308
29. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Addresses of the two Houses—Acceleration of the Union . . 309

1800. PAGE

June 29. The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh—Regulation of College of Maynooth—Object of that Institution . 310

1. The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis—Proposed General Court of Error—Appeals from Courts of Equity 316

1. Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh—Intelligence of the English and French Fleets 318

2. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Movements of the Enemy's Fleet 320

12. The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant—Dissatisfaction of the King—New Creations of Peers—Union Act . . . . . *ib.*

14. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Lord Cornwallis's Engagements—Proposed New Peers—Countervailing Duties 322

16. Mr. Charles Tottenham to Lord Castlereagh—Ecclesiastical Compensations 323

17. Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland—Refusal of Ministers to fulfil his engagements in Ireland—Absolute Necessity for their immediate fulfilment, or his retirement from office 324

18. Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden—Arrangements of Lord Cornwallis—Disapproval of the Ministry—Necessity for immediate retirement of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh unless their engagements be fulfilled—Embarrassments of Lord Cornwallis respecting Peerages, &c. 326

18. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Surrender of Massena—English Peerage for Lord Londonderry. . . . 329

19. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Address—Act of Union . . . . . *ib.*

21. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke—Ministers and Lord Cornwallis—Means by which Union secured—Purposed abandonment of Lord Cornwallis—Probable results . 330

21. Lord Camden to Mr. Cooke—Irish arrangements—Proposed Creation of Peers—Sentiments of the King . 333

22. Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Probable confirmation of the Lord-Lieutenant's engagements . . 334

22. Lord Camden to Mr. Cooke—Same subject . . *ib.*

23. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Intercepted Letter . 335

23. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—The proposed new Peers—Rumoured defeat of Buonaparte . . *ib.*

25. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke—Impossibility of carrying the Union without *carte blanche* as to bestowal of honours—Conduct of Lord Cornwallis . . 336

1800. PAGE
June 25. Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden—Terms of accomplishment of the Union—Imperative necessity for concessions to influential persons 339
26. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Aspect of Foreign affairs—Difficulties of the contest with France—Disposition of Russia and Austria—State of the West India Islands—Suspected trick on Government . . 341
27. The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant—Explanation of previous Despatch; full acknowledgment of the Lord-Lieutenant's services, and confirmation of his arrangements—The Londonderry Peerage—Representative Peers—Distribution of Irish honours . . 343
July 2. The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis—Royal Assent to the Act of Union 346
2. The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh—Strong commendation of his Lordship's conduct and talents—Londonderry Peerage 347
2. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Military successes of Buonaparte—State of France—The Irish Peerages—Views of Ministers respecting Lord Castlereagh . 350
2. Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden—Londonderry Peerage *ib.*
3. The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh—Measures consequent upon the Union . . . 352
3. Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh—Inland Navigation—Continental affairs—Buonaparte . . 353
3. Lord Grenville to Lord Castlereagh . . . 355
Enclosing: Letter from the Hon. Robert Stephen Fitzgerald on the Representation of Leinster, June 27, 1800 . 356
6. Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland—Conduct of the Union—Londonderry Peerage . . . 357
7. Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland—Nature of his engagements in support of the Union—Representative Peers 358
16. Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Irish arrangements—Government of Ireland—Treaty of Vienna . . 359
23. The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh—Compensation for Ecclesiastical Boroughs—Church Funds in Ireland—Non-residence 360
26. The Rev. Dr. Moylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, to Mr. Marshall—Distressed French Emigrants—Lord Castlereagh's conduct of the Union—Spirit of Rebellion 364
27. Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Disposition of Irish Ecclesiastical funds 366
27. Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland—General tranquillity in Ireland—Scarcity, and relief, in Connaught *ib.*

1800. PAGE

July 28. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Mode of electing Representative Peers—Influence of Government . . 367

28. The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh—Instructions concerning the election of Representative Peers—Act of Union 368

Aug. 22. Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh—Expenses of Barrack Department . . . 370

25. Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh—State of Ireland—Scarcity of Provisions 371

Sept. 1. Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh—Survey of the Harbour of Dublin 372

2. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Reinforcements . 373

2. Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland—Actual situation of Ireland—French Invasion—Armed force in Ireland—Reinforcements earnestly requested . . 374

2. Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh—Military Force in Ireland—Inferiority of Militia and Yeomanry — Probability of an Invasion — Necessity for Reinforcements — Tour of Lord Cornwallis in Ireland 376

10. Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh—Roman Catholic Clergy—Necessity of Direct Communication with the Pope—Poyning's Act 379

10. Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh—State of the Country 381

11. Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh—Laws affecting Ireland—The Catholic Question . . . *ib.*

17. Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh—State of Ireland—Scarcity—Supply of Corn 382

23. Sir J. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh—Congregation of Propaganda Fide, in favour of a State Provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland . . . 383

Enclosing:

Letter from the Cardinal of York to Sir J. C. Hippisley, acknowledging benefits received, and soliciting his good offices towards securing the settlement on himself of some stated allowance by England, dated Frascati, July 6, 1800 385

26. Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh—Lord Castlereagh's office of Keeper of the Signet—Provision for Mr. Pelham 386

27. Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden—Offices of Keeper of the Signet, Chief Secretary, and Secretary of State in Ireland 387

Oct. 8. Rev. Dr. Bankhead to Lord Castlereagh—Presbyterian Synod of Ulster—Grants of Money . . 388

8. Answer of Lord Castlereagh . . . 389

1800. PAGE
Oct. 13. The Rev. John Sherrard to Lord Castlereagh—Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Ulster—The Bounty granted to Dissenters in Ireland 389
23. Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh—Export of Grain—Plans of the disaffected 392
23. Mr. George Birch to Lord Castlereagh—Provision for Protestant Dissenters in Ireland 393
24. Lord Castlereagh to Dr. Black—Provision for Presbyterian Ministers 394
Nov. 3. Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh—Union of the Parliament—Supply of Provisions 395
18. Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh—Recall of the Troops in, and destined for, Portugal—Process of Court of King's Bench 396
18. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Lord Cornwallis and the Earl of Clare, and the Court of King's Bench—Evasion of a writ of Habeas Corpus 397
18. The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh—Regulations respecting a Provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy—Communications with the Pope—Filling up of Vacancies—Bulls, Briefs, Rescripts—Excommunication—Schools—Abuses in Confession and Absolution . 400
24. Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh—State Provision for the Catholic Clergy—Letter of Cardinal York . 413
Dec. 12. The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh—Lord Castlereagh summoned to England—Conduct of the Emperor Paul of Russia—Inquiry respecting the procuring a supply of Hemp from Ireland 414
29. Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke—Compensation to Law Officers in Ireland—Promised Patronage—Insurgent Prisoners 416
29. Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh—Catholic Claims—Illegal Meetings 418
29. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—Regulations of the Irish War Office—Catholic Claims—Scarcity . . 420
30. Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh—State Allowance to the Presbyterian Synod and other Dissenting Bodies . 421
31. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh—The Irish Privy Council—Compensations—Survey of Dublin Harbour . 423

SUPPLEMENT.

I. BOROUGHS.

Principle for reducing the number of Boroughs in Ireland . 425
Boroughs in Ireland at the time of the Union . . . 428

PAGE

Notes and Observations 430
Principal Boroughs of Ireland 433
Precincts of Boroughs 434

II. CATHOLICS.

Mr. Cooke to the Rev. Dr. Troy—Queries respecting Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, Oct. 25, 1800 437
The Rev. Dr. Troy to Mr. Cooke—Particulars relating to Roman Catholic Clergy, Dec. 20, 1800 . . . . . *ib.*
The Rev. Dr. Troy to Lord Castlereagh—Answers to various Queries respecting the regulation of the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy, August 30, 1799 438
Queries proposed to Dr. Troy, Oct. 25, 1800 440
Return to the Queries proposed by His Majesty's Ministers to the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, relative to the state of their Church, Nov. 29, 1800 441
Summary of a Correspondence with the Right Hon. Lord Hobart and Lord Viscount Castlereagh, on the subject of the Roman Catholic Clergy, the laws affecting the Catholics, Negociations with Rome, &c., 1799, 1800 445
Including Extracts of Letters from
Pope Pius VII. to Sir J. C. Hippisley, expressing his high esteem of the English Nation, May 10, 1800 472
Sir William Hamilton to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on his Negociations with the Pope, July 13, 1793 474
The Right Hon. John Trevor, Envoy at Turin, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on his exertions at Rome, July 27, 1793 . . . *ib.*
The Right Hon. Admiral Lord Hood to Sir J. C. Hippisley, in acknowledgment of his services with the Pope, respecting Provisions for the Fleet, Oct. 7 and 19, 1793 475
Adjutant-General Sir James St. Clair Erskine to Sir J. C. Hippisley, May 25, 1794—Mark of Distinction bestowed by his Holiness on the 12th Light Dragoons . . . . . *ib.*
Sir William Hamilton to Sir J. C. Hippisley, on his services in Italy . 476
The Viceroy of Corsica to Sir J. C. Hippisley, testifying to his industry and zeal on behalf of the public . . . . *ib.*
Monsignor Barberi to Sir J. C. Hippisley, in the name of the Sacred Congregation, conveying the thanks and acknowledgments of that body for his exertions in promoting harmony between the Courts of England and Rome . . . . . *ib.*
Statutes affecting the Catholics 479

III. MANUFACTURES, FINANCES.

Mr. Alexander Hamilton to Lord Castlereagh, on the Cotton Manufacture of Ireland, Feb. 25, 1800 482

PAGE

Lord Donoughmore to Lord Castlereagh, enclosing a letter from Mr. Edward Clarke, on the Cotton Trade, Feb. 24, 1800 . 483

Mr. James Wallace to Lord Castlereagh, on the same subject, March 3, 1800 485

Mr. Samuel Madder to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish Breweries, March 28, 1800 486

Mr. F. French to Mr. Marshall, on the Misstatements of the Speaker, March 10, 1800 487

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

SECOND MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

1799 CONTINUED.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, November 13, 1799.

My Lord—Your Lordship would have sooner received the ideas which I have thrown together on the uniting and identifying the Churches of England and Ireland in the enclosed paper, but that I was assured they would not find you in London. I hope they may be worth the trouble it will give your Lordship to throw your eye over them. The principle is a simple one in itself, and all the details necessary to give it effect will be easily settled, if it be once adopted and recommended by administration.

There is every reason to think that the great question which detains you so long on the other side is suffering as much at this time as it did when your Lordship was last in England. The Speaker and his partisans still positively assert that they have one hundred and forty members sure; and this kind of boasting is, with many people, not without effect. We can do nothing in Meath until your Lordship's return.

I have the honour to be,

T. L. MEATH.

Memorandum as to Uniting and Identifying the Churches of England and Ireland, and making the latter subject, as formerly, to the See of Canterbury.

November 18, 1799.

The uniting and identifying the legislature of Great Britain and Ireland seems necessarily to suppose the uniting and identifying the Churches of England and Ireland. Church and State are, in our ideas, inseparable, and, when the State becomes in all its parts one, the Church should be but one.

The case of Scotland cannot be pertinently urged against this maxim, as applied to Ireland. It is well known that the great wish of the framers of the Union in England, as well as that of the Queen, was, that there should be but one Established Church for the United Kingdom; but the necessity of the case weighed against every consideration of that tendency. The Presbyterian was the Established Church of Scotland, and to alter it for the establishment of the Church of England was an attempt that might defeat the whole scheme, and sacrifice the mighty advantages that were to result to the empire from the general measure.

In the proposed Union between Great Britain and Ireland, no such necessity exists—no such danger is to be apprehended. On the contrary, the local circumstances of the Church of Ireland, the existence and safety of which is essential to the connexion between the two countries, would in themselves require that it should incorporate and identify with the Church of England, as the greatest security it can look to, and as its most effectual preservative against the dangers to which these circumstances may expose it. The last attempt that bears any resemblance to this measure was made by Lord Strafford, in the reign of Charles the First; and, through his influence and his zeal, seconding the wishes of that pious King,[1] everything

[1] It has been the fashion to consider Charles as a *pious* King, as a *martyr*, but it requires no very profound acquaintance with the history of his times to be convinced that this notion is an egregious mistake, and that he was neither the one nor the other.

was done that the existing connexion between the two kingdoms could admit.

The two Churches, like the two legislatures, were distinct, although united in the same head; and, as long as the legislatures continued so, the Churches must have done the same. The only thing, therefore, that Lord Strafford could propose to himself was, to bring the Church of Ireland to an agreement and conformity with the Church of England in doctrine, in worship, and in discipline; and this in the most essential points he happily effected. Before his time, the Church of Ireland had no canons set forth by public authority. In a convocation held in Dublin, in the year 1615, it was indeed resolved that the Church of Ireland should have a public confession of faith as well as other Churches. Archbishop Usher was then primate; and, from the character which he had long established, he was entrusted by the bishops and principal clergy with the care of drawing up the articles in which they were to declare their agreement. From the course of theological studies pursued by the reformed clergy of his earlier days, and from the predilection which, influenced by the example of the exiles in Queen Mary's reign, he had conceived for the Geneva Liturgy and the doctrines of Calvin, he not only inserted, in this confession of faith, the Nine Articles, commonly called the Lambeth Articles, because proposed by Archbishop Whitgift to the University of Cambridge, which Queen Elizabeth suppressed, and which were afterwards rejected by King James, when brought forward at the conference at Hampton Court, but he further added several articles, equally Calvinistical and equally differing from the articles of the Church of England, as they were finally agreed upon in 1562. The confession so formed was approved and adopted by the Convocation as the confession of faith of the Church of Ireland, and it was afterwards confirmed by the Lord Deputy Chichester.

The discipline of the two Churches was, in many instances,

as different as their articles of faith. It would indeed appear, from a letter from Lord Strafford to Archbishop Laud, that, in point of discipline, the Church of Ireland was in a most lamentable state. He draws a picture of it, with respect to the want of all professional learning; to non-residence and all the abuses resulting from it; to the state of the churches and glebe-houses; to the want of all decency of habit, order, or gravity, in performing the rites and services of the Church; to the custom of having their marriages and christenings in private houses; and to many other particulars, which, it must be confessed, is not altogether inapplicable to our own days.

It appeared, at first, to be a hopeless attempt to reduce all these things to the custom of England; to induce the Primate and Clergy of Ireland to substitute, to the confession of faith which they had so lately set forth, the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the English Convocation in 1562, and persuade them to consent that all the canons in force in England should be imposed upon the Irish clergy, and that their Church should be altogether governed by the same rules. But the wishes of the King, the zeal and firmness of the Lord Deputy, the talents and weight of character possessed by Bramhall, lately appointed Bishop of Derry, and the candour, mildness, and moderation of Primate Usher, removed all difficulties. An expedient was found to reconcile the Primate, and not to hurt his feelings. No censure was to be passed on any of the former Irish Articles. They were to be virtually renounced by approving the Articles of England, and receiving them in their place; and the English canons were not to be established in a body, but those which the Primate scrupled were to be left out, and a collection to be made of the rest, new arranged and new modified, as the confession of faith and the rule of discipline of the Church of Ireland.

The Lord Deputy was not so complaisant to the other members of the Convocation as to the Primate. He was particularly peremptory with those of the Lower House, who, in

considerable numbers, laboured to defeat his plan. He sent for Dean Andrews, who sat in the chair of the committee of that House; told him how ashamed and scandalized he was at their proceedings; represented how unheard-of a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith in the spirit of Brownism, and in contradiction to the bishops and to the State; and so intimidated him and those who acted with him, that the canons, as they now stand, were voted with only one dissentient voice.

I have given this short account of this memorable transaction, as it is more than probable that some of the Bench and many of the Clergy will oppose the measure of incorporating and identifying the two Churches. The present Primate, as well in temper and manners as in many points of learning, may well rank with Primate Usher. But the Bench is not without some of a different description—violent and impracticable, condemning and opposing whatever does not originate from themselves, and not likely to brook any appearance of subordination to the See of Canterbury, which would be necessary to this plan.

In this, however, as can be made appear from history, there would be nothing new. We can fairly infer, from Archbishop Usher's account of the religion professed by the ancient Irish, that, were it not for Pope Eugenius's extending his usurpations to Ireland in the twelfth century, the Church of Ireland would have maintained the same dependence on the See of Canterbury, as from that century till the Reformation she maintained on the See of Rome.

This learned and candid prelate proves, from authentic records, that the election of bishops, previous to that period, was by the King and by the chief of the clergy and laity of the respective dioceses; that the bishops elect were sent by them to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and that the pastoral staff was given in his court by the English King. He proves that the Ostmen, or Danish strangers who

possessed the three Cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, followed the same rule, and would not allow the bishops whom they chose to receive their consecration from any other metropolitan than the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The first bishop they had in Dublin, as appears by the records of that Church, was one Donatus, or Duranus, upon whose death, in the year 1075, Gothric, their king, with the consent of the clergy and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their bishop, and directed him into England, to be consecrated by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc sent him back, with commendatory letters as well to Gothric as to the chief king or monarch of the Irish. Upon the decease of this Patrick, in 1085, the same monarch of the Irish joined with the clergy and people of Dublin in the election of a second Donatus; and sent him, in like manner, to be consecrated by Lanfranc, one of whose monks he was.

There is another instance on record, of a bishop elect of Waterford being sent by the king, clergy, and people, for consecration to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. In the year 1122, a bishop elect of Dublin was sent to Ralph, Anselm's successor, for his consecration, "touching which," says Usher, "I have seen this writ of King Henry the First: 'Henry King of England to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting. The King of Ireland hath intimated unto me by his writ, and the Burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory for their bishop, and send him to you to be consecrated. Wherefore, I wish that, satisfying their request, you perform his consecration without delay. Witness, Ranulph, our Chancellor at Windsor.'"

In 1151, Passaro, the Pope's legate, came into Ireland. He brought with him four palls, the badge devised by the See of Rome as distinguishing archbishops, and the grant of which from the Sovereign Pontiff was declared to be indispensably necessary to the discharge of any metropolitical authority. From that time, the intercourse with the See of Canterbury

ceased, and the Irish bishops received consecration from their own metropolitans, subject to and deriving their authority from the Church of Rome.

From all this it evidently appears that the intimate connexion of the Church of Ireland with that of England, and the acquiescence of the clergy of Ireland *under the government* of the See of Canterbury, as it is implicitly and unequivocally expressed in the recommendatory letter which they gave to the same Gregory for Archbishop Ralph, were only broken off by establishing the dependence of the Church of Ireland on the Pope; and that, had not this usurpation taken place, and been settled previous to the introduction of the English, the same connexion would have continued, and extended itself to all the dioceses, as they came gradually to be included within the English pale.

To establish a metropolitical pre-eminence in the See of Canterbury over the united Church of the whole empire is not therefore altogether a new idea; and the proposal cannot be unacceptable to the enemies of Popish usurpation, even if it were not necessarily connected with the proposal of a Legislative Union and incorporation, and if there were no other reasons that powerfully recommended its adoption.

That there are a multiplicity of such reasons is obvious. I shall instance one of them. The maxim laid down by Archdeacon Paley has been greedily adopted, and zealously inculcated in this kingdom by all the sectaries, but particularly by the Roman Catholics: "The established religion ought to be that which prevails among the majority of the people. The faith of the nation ought to be consulted, and not that of the magistrate."

The safety of our establishment has been menaced not only by having this maxim urged in theory, but by endeavours to act upon it. As long as the distinction of the Church of Ireland remains, as long as our establishment continues separate and distinct, and to rest upon our own internal regula-

tions, so long will this plausible and palatable maxim continue to keep alive the expectations of our adversaries, so long will it excite their desires, and encourage them to hope for our subversion. But, let the distinction cease; let there be no longer a Church of Ireland, separate and distinct from the Church of England, and resting upon other laws, and depending upon other jurisdictions. Let the two Churches be identified, and the Church of England (for that auspicious and sacred name must not be changed) be the only Church of the empire. Let this be done; and Paley's maxim, whatever the intrinsic weight it may possess may be, will cease to apply. Our Church will be unassailable to our adversaries; and none of them will dare to disturb or subvert the establishment, unless under circumstances that may encourage them to attempt the subversion of the whole political system under which we live, and the separation of the two kingdoms. Upon the whole, I think the principle of incorporating and identifying the two Churches cannot be controverted. The manner of carrying it into effect can easily be settled. Although the See of Canterbury must have a metropolitical authority over the whole Church, still the Archbishoprics of Ireland must continue to be invested with all their present privileges and jurisdictions, only with an appeal to the chief See.

There are various Statutes in force relative to the Church of Ireland, resulting from local circumstances, that must be continued and confirmed. Several regulations are at this moment necessary that ought to be added. Other circumstances may occur hereafter, for which the United Parliament may occasionally provide. Should the measure once become ripe for it, all these particulars may be specifically stated. An assembly of the Bishops, or a Convocation, appears to be necessary, to digest and state them, as well as to arrange every matter previous to a final settlement.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Mr. Robert Marshall.

Dublin, November 20, 1799.

My dear Sir—I did not purpose to trouble you with a second letter when I wrote the former one some time ago. A circumstance of a singular nature and recent date will, I hope, justify me for again intruding on you.

Some English papers, the Sun in particular, as I am told, have copied a paragraph from the Dublin Journal, stating "that great intercession had been made by the Roman Catholic clergy of this city, to save the life of Hearne, a student of Maynooth College, lately executed for seditious practices." On reading the original paragraph, I wrote to Mr. Marsden, to have the former part of it contradicted, as no such intercession had been made, and to have it observed that Hearne had been expelled the Maynooth College, in May, 1798, previous to the Rebellion. Mr. Marsden wrote to Mr. Giffard, who, in a subsequent publication, contradicted, lamely indeed, the intercession of the clergy, but omitted the expulsion of Hearne. I need not remark the bad impression the original paragraph, appearing in a print supposed to be under the patronage of Government, must make, circumstanced as this distracted country now is, on the public mind in England. Every loyal man must conclude, on reading it in the Sun, copied from the Dublin Journal, that the Roman Catholic clergy of this city, and I at their head, are abettors of treason, and Maynooth College a nursery of traitors. Hearne, with some others, were expelled Maynooth College by order of the trustees, at the same time that many of Trinity College students were expelled from it by order of the Lord Chancellor. The visitors of both establishments deserve praise for their vigilance, nor does the expulsion of scholars from either reflect upon it. On the whole, my dear sir, my request to Lord Castlereagh is, I beg my most respectful compliments to his Lordship, that he will have the goodness to procure a contradiction of the misrepresentation on the

subject, which has appeared in the Sun and other London prints supposed to be patronized by the British Government. I wish this may be done, from a love of peace and a desire of preventing the fatal effects of party misrepresentation, which must ever foster irritation and prejudices. I have many other matters to mention to his Lordship at his return hither. In my present hurry, which you will excuse, I have not time to detail them.

Yours most faithfully,

J. T. TROY.

The Right Hon. George Rose to the Right Hon. Isaac Corry.

Holwood, November 23, 1799.

Dear Sir—Mr. Pitt is very unwilling to raise a difficulty about anything that is thought of importance to so material an object as the tranquillity of Dublin; but he entertains some doubts whether he should be justified in sending six or eight thousand sacks of flour to the capital of Ireland, at a time when the prices of wheat are so infinitely lower in that country than they are here. You heard what Mr. Beresford said yesterday of the state of the corn-market at Waterford, &c., and you have probably information of it in other parts. Mr. Pitt wishes you, therefore, to have the goodness to consider the whole subject, and, if you shall continue to desire such a supply from hence as above mentioned, he will direct it to be sent. If wheat can be had at Waterford for 48*s.* a quarter, you may certainly lay in the store at Dublin much cheaper than we can sell you.

I shall be in town on Monday morning.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE ROSE.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Downing Street, Tuesday, November 26, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have just seen Lord Downshire. His conversation was friendly in manner, and full of assurances of

general good disposition to Government on other points; but I could not obtain from him any thing decisive on the great subject in question. At one time, he said that his mind was still open to hear what might be stated, and hinted that his opinion might depend on the nature of the terms; but he did not convey to me any specific idea what terms would content him, except that, as far as relates to representation, he thought thirty-two Peers much too little, and that three hundred in the House of Commons would not be more than a just share. In another part of the conversation, he seemed to hold out that he should probably act on this occasion as he had done on some others (particularly the concessions to the Catholics) when, thinking Government wrong, he had refused to support but had not opposed. But, on my endeavouring to fix him to an assurance that he would not oppose, he said that he could not pledge himself, but should go to the House of Lords, determined to do whatever his duty required.

I have endeavoured to give you as correct an idea as I could of a long and desultory conversation which was mixed with much complaint (though he professed to be *above* complaining) of the manner in which himself and others had been neglected, and of the way in which the measure was attempted. On the whole, particularly from what he threw out about the members, I think the result is that he will probably join in the Opposition, if he sees a prospect of its being effectual. At the same time, I do not believe that he has positively made up his mind as to his general line of conduct; and I am pretty clear that he has not formed any precise idea on anything connected with the real merits of the question. In this situation, I see nothing more that I can attempt; and indeed I find that he is going to Ireland immediately.

Ever, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely,

W. PITT.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Grosvenor Street, December 11, 1799.

My Lord—I received from Dr. Fallon's agent yesterday evening the enclosed extract, and your Lordship will permit me to suggest that it might be a *very useful* measure, if your Lordship could hint to Dr. Troy that, in the present vacancy, it would be more advisable that some respectable secular priest should be recommended to fill it. My intelligence was probably despatched to Dr. Troy on the 9th inst., so that your Lordship may be in time to prevent his recommending any other regular priest of his own order. Dr. Moylan concurred with me in thinking the measure of recommending Concanen as exceptionable, on the grounds I stated to your Lordship; and the Speaker told me that Mr. Pitt thought with me entirely in respect of the distinction between regular and secular clergy of the Roman communion.

The Duke of Portland has requested me to draw up a summary of a variety of Papers on this subject, to be laid before the Cabinet. Much of the outline I have already had the honour to communicate to your Lordship.

I have letters from Venice of the 16th of November, which inform me that the Conclave was to *open*, or rather *shut*, on the 23rd following; that Cardinals Albini and Braschi were at the head of one party; Borgia and Caprara of another; and Antonelli of a third. The favourite cardinals were Chiaramonti, Caraffa, Mattei, and Levizani. I should much doubt, however, if the choice fell on either.

Dr. Concanen is pleased to pay me a compliment, as your Lordship will perceive; but I do not think so highly of my powers of persuasion over a provisional Neapolitan government. Vienna, I should think, must ultimately dictate the choice of the successor *à la tiare;* and I should presume but little of the patrimony of St. Peter would be left to support its dignity.

I have letters from Cardinal Borgia: thirty-four cardinals are assembled at the convent of San Giorgio, which, your Lordship may recollect, is on an island opposite to the Piazza San Marco, and celebrated for the fine Paul Veronese of the marriage at Cana. I will request the favour of your Lordship to let the accompanying letter be forwarded to Dr. Moylan.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISLEY.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Concanen to the Rev. Mr. Fallon.

Rome, Minima.[1]

You have my most sincere and grateful thanks for the care and diligence you have taken of my affairs. Conscious of my own inability for the episcopal charges, I have renounced to the united Sees of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, and determined to finish my days in my retired and humble state of life.

You cannot conceive the misery that yet reigns in this ruined country, and that is likely to possess it for a long time. The new provisional Neapolitan government seems not at all disposed to give back the Church lands usurped and alienated by the late Republic. The Regulars especially stand a very bad chance of ever recovering their property. We are doing all we can to recover the lands and revenues of the British colleges and convents, with the assistance of a Mr. Fagan, an English painter, who appears as agent for his countrymen. How I should wish that Sir John Hippisley were now in Rome; from his activity and patriotic spirit, we could expect many advantages from him. I beg my respects to him.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Confidential. December 11, 1799.

I venture to enclose a copy of a letter from Cardinal Borgia, in the persuasion that your Lordship will hear with pleasure

[1] A convent of Dominicans.

that it has produced the sensation which the Cardinal justly anticipated. It is before the Cabinet; and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chatham, the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Wyndham, assure me respectively that the business is in a good train. There is no doubt but the unfortunate Cardinal York will immediately receive adequate relief, and I trust Mr. P. will crown in Parliament the decorous act of extending our liberality to the last of so illustrious a race, who is not responsible for the folly or imprudence of his ancestors.

I will, in the same confidence, inform your Lordship of the specific act when settled.

Cardinal Borgia to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Padoue, ce 14 Septembre, 1799.

Monsieur le Chevalier—L'amitié dont vous m'avez honoré pendant vôtre séjour à Rome m'encourage à vous exposer maintenant un cas bien digne de vos plus mures réflexions, et le voici. Parmi les Cardinaux refugiés à Padoue il se trouve le Cardinal Duc, dont la situation facheuse me cause la peine la plus sensible. On ne peut voir, en effet, sans émotion un personnage si grand, et le dernier descendant du sang royal, réduit si à l'étroit par les Français, qui l'ont dépouillé cruellement de tout ce qu'ils lui ont pu enlever ; s'ils lui n'ont pas ôté la vie, ce n'a été que par une grace du Seigneur, qui l'a protégé dans sa fuite, tant par mer que par terre. Les fatigues cependant qu'il a enduré, jointes à son grand âge (de 75 ans,) n'ont pas peu contribué à altérer sa santé, en lui causant une plaie douloureuse dans une jambe.

Des personnes bien informées des affaires particulières de ce digne Cardinal m'assurent que depuis sa fuite, qui fût suivi de près du pillage total de son riche et somptueux ameublement de Rome et de Frascati, il ne subsiste que par la foible ressource de la vaisselle qu'il emporta avec lui, et qu'il vendit en partie à Messine, et j'ai oui dire qu'il en avoit vendu la dernière

portion à Venise, pour pouvoir aller en avant quelques mois encore.

Il ne lui reste qu'une très petite quantité de tous les bijoux qu'il possédait; en ayant donné la meilleure partie pour satisfaire aux contributions (très connues) exigées par les Français nos usurpateurs. Quant aux revenus qu'il possédait après avoir perdu d'abord 48 mille écus Romains par la révolution de France, il perdit par l'invasion de Rome ce qu'il lui restait, c'est à dire le revenu annuel de 10 mille que lui assignait la Chambre Apostolique, et ce qu'il avait en particulier dans les *Luoghi di Monti Romani*.

Les seuls revenus qu'il posséde maintenant, ce sont les benefices d'Espagne, qui se montent à 14 mille écus; mais cette somme étant payée en papier, elle diminue de beaucoup par la perte considérable du change. Il y a d'ailleurs déjà plus d'un an qu'il n'a pas reçu cette somme, ce qui est peut-être causé par l'interruption de toute communication avec ce Royaume.

Il est nécessaire que j'ajoute ici, pour vous faire connaître à fond sa situation, qu'il se trouve chargé de la somme de 4000 écus pour la portion du veuvage de la Comtesse d'Albanie, sa belle-sœur; de 3000 écus pour la mère de sa defunte nièce;[1] et de 1500 pour differents legs du père et du frère, et qu'il ne posséde plus de fonds pour se procurer le crédit nécessaire pour s'acquitter de toutes ses charges.

Ce tableau que je présens à vôtre amitié est bien fait pour intéresser quiconque réfléchit à la haute naissance, au grade élévé, et à l'âge avancé de la personne qu'il représente à la clarté de la verité la plus pure, et dépouillé de tout enthousiasme de l'éloquence. Il ne me reste donc, qu'à vous prier de le montrer dans toute sa simplicité aux personnes élevées qui ont de l'influence dans le Gouvernement, étant bien persuadé que la magnanimité Anglaise ne souffrira pas qu'un

[1] "Daughter of the Countess of Alberstorf, who was sister to the late Mrs. Walkenshaw, one of the women of the bedchamber to the late Princess of Wales."—*Note by Sir J. C. Hippisley.*

personnage si illustre de sa nation périsse dans l'indigence. Je m'arrête pour ne pas offenser la délicatesse Anglaise, qui aime d'agir par une impulsion libre, et non par les suggestions d'autrui.

Il y a ici, parmi les autres Cardinaux, les deux Doria, Caprara, et Civezzani, et peut-être bientôt s'assembleront-ils pour former le Conclave, qui selon toute apparence se tiendra ici, puisque le Seigneur *complevit labores* du digne et affligé Pie VI., qui avoit pour vous la plus tendre bienveillance, et qui voulut, dans le tems-même qu'il se trouvait dans la Chartreuse de Florence, me conférer la charge de Pro-Préfet de la Propaganda.

Le papier me manque, mais je ne laisserai pas de vous assurer que je serai toujours

Vôtre sincère serviteur et ami,

S. Card. BORGIA.

TRANSLATION.

Cardinal Borgia to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Padua, September 14, 1799.

Monsieur le Chevalier—The friendship with which you have honoured me during your residence in Rome encourages me now to lay before you a case well worthy of your maturest reflections. It is this:

Among the Cardinals who have taken refuge at Padua is the Cardinal Duke, whose distressed situation gives me the greatest pain. One cannot, in fact, see without emotion so high a personage, the last descendant from royal blood, reduced to such straits by the French, who have cruelly plundered him of every thing that they could carry off: if they did not take his life, it is by the grace of the Lord, who has protected him in his flight as well by sea as by land. The fatigues which he has undergone, together with his great age, (75 years) have nevertheless contributed not a little to impair his health, by producing a painful sore in one leg.

Persons well acquainted with the private affairs of this worthy Cardinal assure me that, since his flight, which was speedily followed by the pillage of all his rich and sumptuous furniture at Rome and Frascati, he has subsisted entirely upon the slender resource of the plate which he carried with him, and part of which he sold at Messina; and I have heard say that he disposed of the last portion at Venice, that he might be able to get on for

a few months longer. He has nothing left but a very small quantity of all the jewels that he possessed, having given up the greater part in discharge of the contributions (too well known) exacted by the French, our usurpers.

As for the revenues which he possessed, after having lost in the first place 48,000 Roman crowns by the Revolution of France, he lost by the invasion of Rome what he had left; that is to say, the annual revenue of 10,000 assigned to him by the Apostolic Chamber, and what he had in private in the Luoghi di Monti Romani.

The only revenues which he now possesses are the benefices in Spain, amounting to 14,000 crowns: but, that sum being paid in paper, it is greatly diminished by the considerable loss of the exchange. Besides, for above a year past, he has received nothing, owing, perhaps, to the interruption of all communication with that kingdom.

It is necessary that I should here add, in order to make you thoroughly acquainted with his situation, that he is burdened with the sum of 4000 crowns for the dower of his sister-in-law, the Countess of Albany; 3000 crowns for the mother of his deceased niece; and 1500 for various legacies of his father and brother; and that he no longer possesses funds for procuring the credit necessary to enable him to pay all these charges.

This picture which I present to your friendship is well fitted to interest any one who reflects on the high birth, the exalted rank, and the advanced age of the person whom it holds forth in the clearness of the purest truth, and divested of all enthusiasm of eloquence. I have therefore only to request you to show it, in all its simplicity, to the high persons who have influence in the Government, being persuaded that English magnanimity will not suffer so illustrious a personage of its nation to perish in indigence. I pause, lest I should offend English delicacy, which loves to act upon its own free impulse, and not upon the suggestions of others.

There are here, among the other Cardinals, the two Dorias, Caprara and Civizzani, and they will perhaps soon assemble to form the Conclave, which, according to all appearance, will be held here, since the Lord *complevit labores* of the worthy and afflicted Pius VI., who had the tenderest regard for you, and who, at the very time when he was in the Carthusian convent at Florence, was pleased to confer on me the office of Pro-Prefect of the Propaganda.

My paper runs short, but I shall not omit to assure you that I shall ever be

Your sincere servant and friend,

S. Card. BORGIA.

James Verner, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh.

Ch. Hill, December 16, 1799.

My Lord—I have observed declarations published from every county of this province, on the subject of Union, from whence such may be expected, save the County Armagh. Previous to the election held in this county, it was thought prudent by the friends of Union (most of whom supported Colonel Cope) to be silent on that topic. Since that, Lord Gosford[1] has taken much pains to write letters, and consult with those gentlemen who agreed in sentiments with him; and I have not the least doubt but those persons who are in earnest are exerting themselves with much zeal. But I fear a very strong majority of this county are, and will use every indirect means to frustrate our endeavours. As an instance, I send you a printed publication, which, though in circulation for some time, only came to my hands yesterday; and I learn from a friend of mine, and a most sanguine friend to Union (the Rev. D. Kelly, of Armagh), that this same printed paper has much impeded his success in obtaining signatures in the town of Armagh and its vicinity.

Was I to guess at the author, I should not hesitate to say, this is the production of Thomas Prentice, of Armagh, a grocer, whose anonymous publications, on former occasions, were often dispersed about the country. He is an avowed enemy to a Union, and, sorry I am to say, there live in this county many such men, and of a worse description.

Very lately I had some conversation with Colonel Cope on the subject, and he told me his sentiments were averse to Union, but I can't say they were strengthened by solid reasons, and therefore am induced to think a few of his friends might change his opinion.

For the reasons I have assigned, your Lordship cannot expect

[1] Arthur, second Viscount, created Earl of Gosford in 1806.

a splendid number of signatures, but I am in hopes a respectable publication will appear.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JAMES VERNER.

Lord Castlereagh to Sir J. C. Hippisley, Bart.

Dublin Castle, December 16, 1799.

Dear Sir—I have been favoured with your two letters, and beg you will please to accept of my best thanks for the information contained in them. I agree with you entirely on the subject of the Regular Roman Catholic clergy, and that measures should be taken to prevent their extending themselves in this kingdom. I shall certainly avail myself, as far as I am able, of what you are so good as to suggest with regard to the filling up of the vacant See of Kilmacduagh.

I am happy to find that your very laudable endeavours in behalf of the Cardinal Duke have some prospect of success.

Believe me, &c.

General Loftus[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Norwich, December 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—I received from the Duke of Portland yesterday the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 9th inst. His Grace has long known my attachment to the great measure in view, and I persuade myself, though out of the country, that I have in some degree contributed to the good understanding of this important question; but, having no reason to suppose that my personal assistance was either thought of or wished for by the Government of Ireland, it was natural in me, your Lordship, I am sure, will admit, to wish to retire from a situation which materially interfered with my professional duties.

[1] General Loftus, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Colonel of the 2d Dragoon Guards, and at one time a Member of the Parliament both of England and Ireland.

Under this impression, I requested Lord Ely to find a friend to take my seat in the Irish Parliament. Your Lordship's statement of the situation of so many of your friends, from official arrangements, leads me to decide without hesitation on a journey to Ireland; and I trust to have the pleasure of waiting upon your Lordship before the 15th of January.

I have the honour, &c.,

W. LOFTUS.

Sir James S. Blackwood to Lord Castlereagh.

Ballyhidy, December 21, 1799.

I have received your Lordship's letters of the 14th, on my return home this day. As a well-wisher to the general concerns of my country, and of the great question you mention to come forward early in the Session, I shall certainly attend on the 15th, and am obliged for the intimation.

With respect to my brother, I cannot say any thing. I have not heard his opinion lately, and cannot pretend to lead his judgment, any more than I could bear to have my own directed: feeling as I do, I hope he will not vote against the Union. When we last conversed, he wished to retire: I believe it is still his desire. This must, however, come entirely from himself, as I cannot speak to him upon the business, nor can it be done in any other shape than what has been already mentioned. He is now in Dublin; perhaps it may suit your Lordship's leisure to converse with him upon it.

I have much satisfaction at hearing from your authority that the terms to be now offered have the appearance of giving general satisfaction: much as I wish a support of the Government, and much as I approve of the principle, so much do I hope the terms may be such as to enable me to vote for them with a conviction of reciprocal advantages to both countries.

Yours, very truly,

J. S. BLACKWOOD.

Mr. Luke Fox to Lord Castlereagh.

Harcourt Street, December 24, 1799.

My Lord—I have very attentively considered the papers which you had the goodness to communicate to me, and am happy to find my own ideas on the subject much more clearly and better expressed than they would have been by me. The establishment for the Roman Catholic Clergy appears to have been very accurately considered and well digested. But the essential point, of previously educating the Clergy, to be provided for, remains untouched altogether. I have already, in conversation and writing, communicated to your Lordship some of my objections to the seminary at Maynooth. The avowed principle of that institution is to educate for the Romish priesthood a class of men separated from their fellow-subjects, of every religious persuasion, as well Romish as Protestant. If the object of British Government were the same as that which actuated the Spanish Cabinet of Philip the Second, when it founded the British and Irish seminaries at St. Omer, &c., namely, to form a body totally distinct in principle and interest from the mass of their fellow-subjects, I might, perhaps, subscribe to the policy, if not to the wisdom, of such an institution. It is, in fact, to a certain degree, supplying the whole of your parochial Clergy from a Monastery, trained in the deepest prejudices of the most dangerous political and religious sophistry. The tendency of this system has been uniformly to fetter, contract, and illiberalize the human mind. Consult British and Irish history for its baneful influence for the last two centuries, equally destructive to its own as well as to different sects. From the hellish conspiracy called the Gunpowder Treason, which marked the dawn of this system of perversion, to the equally detestable conspiracy from which, by the providence of God, we have just escaped, we find the disciples of this school the primary agents and principal leaders in every plot, massacre, and rebellion, that has stained our annals. This perverted bias has been found almost equally

pernicious to the Catholics themselves as to their Protestant fellow-subjects. Witness the conduct of their Clergy under the *nuncio Rinuccini*, during the rebellion which originated in 1641—witness the brutal ignorance of this whole sect in this country—in short, witness the whole Popish history of Ireland.

To this system is to be imputed the whole of the mischievous political tenets with which their religion is ignorantly and uncharitably charged. There is nothing, notwithstanding the honest ravings of Doctor Patrick Duigenan, in the spirit or genius of the Roman Catholic religion, that disqualifies men from becoming peaceable and loyal subjects. But there is a deadly principle in the Spanish leaven, imported to Maynooth, which is uniform in perversion, and disqualifies men equally from being good subjects and good Christians. It is the same principle which actuated Father Pearson in the last, and actuates Doctor Hussey in the present century. It is idle to talk of bringing home education, when the students are secluded from every thing at home, save and except the same teachers and dogmas which they would have been familiarized to abroad. How do Maynooth and St. Omer differ, as seminaries of education, in any rational, political, moral, and religious point of view? The professors the same, the course of reading the same, the separation from the rest of the world the same. In short, this institution was the work of a "Petty, Plausible, Pusillanimous, Political Pretender"—you may finish the alliteration. It is monstrous, after the experience of two centuries, to introduce into this wretched country, at an excessive expense, a school for prejudice and treason, which has failed of producing a single man amongst its thousands and tens of thousands of pupils, from its commencement to this hour, distinguished by wisdom, knowledge, or liberality. What then is to be done? This seminary is to be abolished: no separate place of education is to be allowed to Catholic Priests. Let them mix and converse with their fellow-subjects, whom

they are destined to teach and instruct. In this every allowance, consistent with the morality and safety of the State, is studiously to be allowed them. Their academic course, now a mystery, ought to be explained, revised, and corrected. But, unless this shall be done, it is vain to lavish stipends upon men trained to an incurable hostility to our establishment in Church and State.

I feel that I have trespassed more upon your Lordship's time on this subject than I should have done, and can only plead in excuse the vital importance of the subject. I am thoroughly sensible you have a mind capable of embracing it in all its parts, too vigorous and manly to be duped by the puny sophistry of men who are interested in perpetuating this abuse. Laws may be enacted, establishments may be framed, stipends may be dispensed; but, unless the people are educated, the cause of religion and government will remain desperate. It is this which makes the only difference between man and man, between native and native. To the philosophic eye, there is no difference between a Protestant and Popish infant. Even Dr. Duigenan could not discover any. But the same individuals, arrived at manhood, appear to be scarcely of the same species. What is the cause? I must refer your Lordship to Dr. Hussey and Dr. Kearney.

Enclosed, I return the papers you were so kind to send me, and wish your Lordship to consult the well-informed and accurate author on this most important of all subjects.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

L. Fox.

The Marquess of Buckingham to Lord Castlereagh.

Stowe, December 26, 1799.

My dear Lord—Your Lordship's wish, and two letters that I have this day received from Ireland, have satisfied me that, by declining to accede to the Westmeath resolutions enclosed to me by our friend Pakenham, I should give much ground

for misrepresentation, and that much mischievous misconception might arise of my sentiments on a measure on which you so well know my opinions. I had written to Pakenham to explain the reasons for this decision, but I have now enclosed to him a draft which adopts Lord Belvedere's[1] words, but transposes a few of them, for the purpose of strengthening a little the tone of the declaration, and the omission of a part which is wholly irrelative to this great question. I shall be enabled to add my name with perfect satisfaction to those who, either from *old* or from *new* lights, may support the Union. As, therefore, I conclude that he will adopt my draft, I have commissioned John Nugent to add my name and Lord Temple's,[2] and I have written to others who may be influenced by my wishes to recommend this same draft for their signatures.

To your Lordship, I may be permitted to say, that a declaration on this subject might have been obtained with perfect ease twelve months since. All that I then wished, and all that I now request, for the security of those who have shown the most zealous wish to support the Government on this question in Westmeath, is, that they may not be again exposed to what *so many have suffered* in consequence of the appointment of a zealous Anti-Unionist to the Shrievalty of that County. Be assured that, by this intimation, I do not mean to express the slightest sense of unkindness, but simply to claim from Government their protection to those who support the Union.

I am not sure that I like all that I have seen of the points settled in London, but my zeal is equally warm, and perhaps, in the progress of the business, some solution may be found for the matters I dislike, or rather doubt upon. The most prominent of these doubts arises from the fear that, as by your plan of last year, you sacrificed too many of your County

[1] George Rochfort, second Earl.

[2] Richard, eldest son of the writer, created Earl Temple of Stowe, and subsequently Marquess of Chandos and Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

members, and consequently put them into opposition; you now put down entirely, and *in toto*, too large a share of the Borough representation, instead of consolidating Boroughs, as in Scotland. But a doubt, equally prominent, is that respecting your trials of contested elections, which cannot, with a semblance of justice, be brought from the County of Donegal to Westminster; nor do I conceive it essential to the unity of Parliament that these trials should be holden in Great Britain, *or even by a Committee of the House of Commons*, where the cry of justice and expediency is so strong the other way. I do not lean equally heavy on the appellant jurisdiction being transferred to Westminster, because evidence is never heard upon causes of Appeal, and the barristers, even from Ireland, attending Parliament, would always give the parties the fair choice of their advocates. All I fear on this head is the accumulation of business, which, after all, is not quite so serious an objection as in the case of the controverted elections, on which, I fairly own, that my mind is very uneasy.

Is there, my dear Lord, any mode in which I can assist you in the book of numbers? You know how my heart and soul are interested in this great question; and I trust you are equally convinced of my personal regards for your Lordship, and of my high sense of your obliging attentions to me on all occasions: and, with these feelings, I am, &c.,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.[1]

[1] George, second Earl Temple, assumed the name of Nugent by Royal Permission, by marrying the only daughter of Robert Earl Nugent, and was created, in 1784, Marquess of Buckingham. He was twice Viceroy of Ireland.

SUPPLEMENT.

I. THE UNION.

HINTS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF WRITERS IN FAVOUR OF A UNION.

By the Bishop of Meath.

Secret.

It is much better to employ those who are to write in favour of the Union, in composing short essays than pamphlets.

As the appeal in favour of the Union must be to the reason and sound sense of the Nation, and not to its passions or its prejudices, the style of those should be plain, simple, and level to the understanding of plain honest, men. They must be directed to detect the fallacies and misrepresentations by which the public have been led away from the consideration of the subject itself to things totally foreign to its object. Wit may do great things against it, but nothing for it; yet, at the same time, those whose talent lies that way may do much service, and particularly in writing songs, and I understand the G. N— R— is very well disposed to exert his talents that way, provided that he were enabled to discharge some small debts, which force him now to confine himself.

It is absolutely essential that some persons, on whom the Government can rely, should be supplied with proper materials, by official communications respecting the state of the revenues, the amount of the customs and excise compared with those of England, what changes are proposed to take place, in what articles England is willing to consult the comparative inferiority of Irish manufacture by granting indulgences, as was done

in many articles in Scotland; and every other subject that may enable them to satisfy the public mind on the various points on which they may wish to meet the objections of the opposers of the measure.

With respect to the mode of giving circulation to the different publications, it is perfectly nugatory to publish *merely* in the Dublin Journal. They should be inserted, if possible, in the Dublin Evening Post; but, in whatever paper they may be originally published, measures ought to be taken to get them immediately republished in the different county papers, and in small pamphlets to be dispersed through the country. The usual mode of doing this, is by sending the pamphlets to the different post-offices; but every one knows that this has not answered any adequate end, as the postmasters content themselves with giving them to those who come to their offices; and there is not one of these offices in which hundreds of such pamphlets are not lying at this moment unopened.

I could recommend the appointment of some particular person to superintend this essential business; and Mr. M'Kenna, who, in the time of the Roman Catholic Committee, to which he acted as their secretary, and conveyed their publications through channels by which they were but too generally and too successfully disseminated, tells me he has no objection to undertake this or any thing else in which he can be of service. In England, at the time of the Irish propositions, a committee of gentlemen was formed for that purpose among the Opposition.

I can only add that there is not a moment to be lost, and that, perhaps, it may be even now too late.

OUTLINES OF A UNION.

By Mr. Anderson, of Cork.

If the British House of Commons are reduced from 558, the present number of members, to 500, by striking off 29 of the most depopulated Boroughs, then I would propose to admit

100 Irish members to represent the Irish House of Commons in the Parliament of the British Empire. The lopping-off 29 rotten Boroughs would operate as a partial Parliamentary reform, and reduce the United Parliament to 600 members, exceeding the present number of the British Parliament by only 42.

Were no reduction to take place, the number of members would be too unwieldy for the purposes of legislation, for then Ireland ought to send at least 112 members, which would be beyond her proportion in reference to Scotland, and would increase the entire number to 670. This is certainly too large a number for deliberative purposes, and if even 600 be thought so too, it may be easily reduced by lopping off more English Boroughs, and diminishing the number of Irish members in proportion.

That Ireland should have one-fifth of the representation of the Lower House in the Parliament of the Empire seems as reasonable a proportion as any other. Her population would, indeed, entitle her to two-fifths; for, if Ireland be supposed to contain *four* millions of inhabitants, Great Britain certainly has *ten;* but, on account of the vastly greater wealth and revenue of Great Britain, relative to her number of inhabitants, than those of Ireland, relative to hers, that proportion of two-fifths may surely be reduced to one-fifth. It ought to be reduced even lower, were not allowances to be made for the rapid increase of Irish wealth and prosperity, in consequence of Ireland's becoming a part of Great Britain.

The proportion of 100 members for Ireland is not greater than 45 for Scotland, if this latter country contains 1,800,000 souls, and the former 4,000,000, and the two countries, being nearly equal in point of wealth, should be represented according to their population. By lopping off 58 or even a somewhat greater number from the English and Welsh representation of 513, the Scotch representation of 45 members would bear a greater proportion to that reduced number than they do at present, so as, instead of one-twelfth, to become one-tenth of

the whole. This would operate as a kind of partial reform in Scotland in respect of her quota of representation, should it be thought too low.

If 40 Irish Lay Peers be chosen by the entire Lay Peers of Ireland, and five Ecclesiastical ones, to be chosen by the Bishops, to represent the Irish House of Peers in the Parliament of the Empire, this would be a smaller quota of representation than that proposed in the Lower House, being somewhat less than one-sixth of the entire number of Peers in the Parliament of Great Britain. But, first, if the Scotch House have 16, the Irish ought to have nearly 40 Lay Peers, by virtue of the respective population of the two countries; and the security of the Scotch national religion, by her Act of Union, may be looked on as an equivalent for the additional five Ecclesiastical Irish Peers, of whom she has none to send. Second, by allowing Ireland one-fifth of the representation in the Lower House, much more is conceded to her than the respective revenues of the two Islands would admit, and, therefore, even less than one-sixth of the representation in the Upper House may reasonably content her.

But, besides, as all Irish Peers would be capable of being made Peers of the Empire in their own right, no objection to the smallness of the number, 45, ought to be entertained. If it is said that a Bishop, being a sole corporation, cannot, therefore, alienate his right of sitting in the House and dispose of it to another by election, this objection is futile. An Act of Parliament is boundless in its operation, and can dissolve corporations, whether sole or aggregate; as in every State there must be somewhere or other a *supreme power*.

Ireland must submit to a land-tax, whether she obtains a Union or not. The increasing expences of the war will drive her to this; as the magnanimous example of England, in raising so much of the supplies within the year, will bring the landed gentlemen forward to set bounds to the system of borrowing—a system which will every year become more difficult.

It cannot then be supposed that a land-tax will not be the consequence of a Union. If the quota of land-tax to be paid by Ireland be in proportion to that paid by Great Britain, as the representation of the former is to that of the latter in the Lower House of the United Parliament, namely, one-fifth, and if the debt of Ireland be consolidated with that of England, and the Irish land-tax appropriated to pay the interest of that debt as far as it goes, then no other additional taxes should be imposed on Ireland by the United Parliament. For some time after the Union, she should continue to pay her present ones only as an equivalent for them, until, after certain periods to be agreed on in the treaty, she falls in by degrees, as she acquires the ability, to pay as England does.

The most intricate part of the business consists in determining the duration of this interval, and the gradual steps by which Ireland at last becomes an integral part of the Empire, and participates in common of all its burthens and fortunes. It seems clear, however, in general, that the customs, prohibitions, and charges, on all foreign and colonial importations, must be the same in both countries pending this interval; that the import and export duties at present obtaining between them should be gradually abolished during its continuance, and the defalcation in point of revenue thence arising gradually made up from other sources by the Parliament of the Empire.

All offices not necessarily abolished by the Union should remain as at present. The Lord-Lieutenant and State officers, the military establishments, the courts of justice (an appeal lying from Chancery to the House of Lords of the Empire), the Treasury, the Exchequer, the Revenue Board, &c., are all offices that do not require any alteration, except what may be safely committed to the Parliament of the Empire.

In their elections, the Irish Peers may follow the Scotch model. The 300 actual representatives of the Lower House may be reduced to 100, by lopping off rotten Boroughs, or by lumping them together, as was the case in Scotland. The

Catholics to be elegible to serve in the United Parliament whenever the laws against them are repealed in Great Britain.

Remarks on the foregoing Outlines.

That a Union, according to the foregoing, or some other plan, is practicable, the example of the Scotch Union abundantly shows. That the negociation would be, to a very great degree, arduous and difficult is readily acknowledged; but these very difficulties should only serve as stimulatives to attempt the measure, in case it can be shown to be absolutely necessary. A great many arguments seem to show the absolute necessity of this measure.

1st—A vast majority of the inhabitants of Ireland are either rebels, or inclined to become so. A great majority again of these rebels are Catholics, inimical, for the most part, on that score alone, to the existing Government, and therefore, on a double account, incapable of being suddenly transformed into good subjects. A great many among the lower orders of the northern Dissenters are inclined to join with them in their attempt to overthrow the Constitution, or, at least, to introduce Democratic reform. Now, a Provincial Legislature and a Deputive Executive want that policy and union, that weight and energy, necessary to contrive wise measures, but principally to carry them into effect against the powerful impulse of such combustible materials. The united strength and wisdom of the Empire alone, acting on a constant plan, and far removed from the little party squabbles that divide the inhabitants of this country, are adequate to command obedience and impose silence on such jarring elements.

2nd—The object of the disaffected, that is, the great majority of the *numbers*, at least, in this island, being confessedly a separation from Great Britain, and the formation of a Republic under the auspices of France, it becomes a measure of the most imperative necessity openly to counteract and

utterly to defeat this scheme by uniting this country to Great Britain.

No other measure can effectually and radically destroy this detestable plan, which equally involves in its success the ruin of both countries. Were it put down for the present, it would be perpetually brought forward under one shape or another, fomented by French intrigue from abroad, and disappointed ambition at home. Clandestinely, or openly, a degree of enmity to our happy constitution will be long harboured here; our inveterate enemies, with their usual dexterity, will avail themselves of every violent appearance it puts on to blow it up into a flame. The millions they plunder in other countries will be lavished here to corrupt our peasantry and unprincipled men of fortune; and their proximity to our shore, together with their efforts to acquire a considerable importance at sea, which cannot long be unsuccessful, may, at last, enable them to land their myriads in this country, and endeavour, by one great effort, to tear asunder the British diadem.

This they would begin by attempting to *revolutionize* Ireland. Now, the resistance that the Empire could make to such an attempt would be vastly greater than it could exert at present, should a Union previously take place.

The unity of the Legislature would of itself be a mighty advantage. The history of the Irish Parliament for the last seventeen years evidently shows that it is no easy matter for a British Minister to keep that body in good humour; that concessions highly flattering to the independence of the kingdom, but highly dangerous to its connexion with Great Britain, were obliged to be made to that body; and concessions, demands, and measures, are endeavoured to be forced upon it from without doors in Ireland, which neither it nor the British Minister can make any other reply to than with arms. In short, both the Parliament and people of Ireland have, for the seventeen years past, been almost entirely engaged in lessening by degrees their dependence on Great Britain, in weakening the

connexion, and paving the way for the separation of the two countries, which last is now *actually attempted.*

It signifies nothing to say that their views were honourable and patriotic; that Ireland was held in chains by the Sister Kingdom; and that they had a right to seize the moment of her depression and generosity, or what else you choose to call it, to rescue themselves from this indignant situation. All this may be readily acknowledged, and yet the effect of all these patriotic exertions be still the same, viz., that the connexion between the two countries is reduced by them almost to a single thread, the unity of the executive power, and a negative on the laws passed in the Irish Parliament. Should this negative be exercised on any important occasion, the two countries are unavoidably committed. Ireland has only to make some extraordinary demand, to ask for some privilege—the violation, suppose, of the navigation act in her favour—and to threaten *separation* in case of refusal.

She may differ with the Sister Kingdom respecting the general means of defending the Empire, contribute only as she chooses to that defence, cripple the operations of the executive power in both countries, by obstructing it at home; and, though she contributes but a small proportion indeed to the expenses of the general defence, her loans being, for the most part, filled in England, she may yet, by her unsettled situation and wavering conduct, open the door, as at present, to the demon of French Democracy, and so become the means of destruction to the whole British Empire.

I do not say that the present members of the Irish Legislature are at all inclined to come to these extremities; their conduct has been in the highest degree loyal, and their attachment to England sincere. But who can answer for their successors, nay, who can ever answer for themselves, in case the Rebellion should acquire such a firm consistence, and be so powerfully supported by Gallic force or machinations as to seem in a fair way of succeeding? Should our enemies fail of

erecting a Republic, they will at least endeavour to establish an independent Monarchy here—an idea not quite unpalatable in this country. This would, no doubt, be a temporary shadow, to vanish on the approach of their beloved Democracy; but it might serve to hoodwink some of the great here, and cajole them by degrees into their schemes. In short, they will employ every art, means, and device, to sow dissensions between the two countries and to commit the two Legislatures. If their emissaries have been already so successful among our common people, it will require *time* only to enable them to bribe or delude some of the great to become their leaders. Even the hallowed walls of Parliament may at last conceal traitors.

To prevent these evils, as far as they can be prevented, a Legislative Union seems the only radical security. Such a measure might, indeed, for the moment, tend to increase the number of the disaffected somewhat in this country, as it could not be expected to be carried without a great deal of opposition. But, as this country is at present in a very tumultuous state, a little less or a little more disturbance would not materially affect the Empire; and it is, perhaps, this very circumstance, combined with some others sufficiently obvious, that renders this the most favourable moment for the attempt. In a very little time, the united efforts of loyalty and the spirit of both countries will put an end to the ferment both here and in England.

A few Irish Catholics of fortune returned for this country, who are generally very loyal men, would be lost amidst the crowd of their Protestant brethren deputed to the United Parliament, and, so far from being dangerous, would utterly evanesce among the vastly superior numbers that would compose that Parliament. I do not know whether Great Britain will ever propose such a Union to this country, nor do I know whether she would so alter her laws as to admit Catholics to sit in her Parliament; but I do know that, were such a scheme

proposed to the ruling powers and Protestant body of this kingdom, they ought joyfully to accept of it as a means of extricating themselves from difficulties and dangers almost unparalleled in the history of politics. Should the Irish Parliament say, No, we will not accept of a Union though offered us, because Great Britain will always find herself obliged to support us and the Protestant interest, for her own sake—this is, in effect, to say, We will always keep this island a weak, disjointed, and distracted country, merely *because it suits our own advantage*; we will stand in the way of this salutary measure, and endanger the safety of the Empire at large, merely because *it suits our own advantage*—a mode of reasoning too barefaced to be used on any other subject, and which, therefore, will not perhaps be resorted to on this.

When the political existence of one country is so dependent on the protection of another, as that she needs only to be deserted for a single moment in order to fall into the most miserable state of anarchy and disorder, surely the protecting country has a right to demand that the subordinate one should adopt every means for her own preservation that justice and equity may prompt her to offer. Though the preponderating country may not find it convenient or even safe to desert the other on account of her refusing to adopt these means, yet is the refusal itself an act of the most manifest and downright injustice that can possibly be conceived.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A UNION.

Ireland is admitted to be an independent kingdom, the bad effects of which, and the baneful idea of separation, can be done away only by a Union. Until that event takes place, that country will never be settled—will always be disturbed by the most mischievous speculations, conspiracies, and intrigues, even with the enemy. The change of Government, at least every four years, and the concessions so regularly

made under the vain notion of satisfying the people, create and promote schemes and suggestions inconsistent with the tranquillity of the country, and encouraging agitators, with whom it is a system to disturb the public mind; and now the inflammation is so great, that, if a Union does not take place, Ireland will continue in the most wretched state, the theatre of rebellion and invasion, and neither lives nor property secure.

My opinion was always in favour of a Union; and, when I wrote on the state of Ireland near fifteen years ago, I foresaw that it must become necessary: the moment is now come; and it will never occur again when a Union may be practicable.

The leading men in Ireland, who were most unfriendly to it, find that neither their property nor the country is safe, and now wish for Union. The measure should be despatched while men's minds are impressed with the present horrid state of Ireland, and while the agitators are kept down by the discovery and failure of their plots.

The more I have discussed the subject, the more I am satisfied of the practicability of a Union; and that all the objections and suggestions against it are surmountable; but, without previously reconciling leading men, it cannot, nor can any great measure, without some management, succeed. The body of men the most difficult, and yet the most essential to conciliate, are the lawyers; their opinions will have great weight, and they know how to give them impression.

The Union should be simple, and not embarrassed with any thing that can possibly be avoided, especially with any thing new respecting religion or tithes; although it will be hereafter absolutely necessary to make some great change in respect to the latter.

A philosophical indifference, with regard to the sects of Christianity, will promote a relaxation of all religion, never to be risked, especially in these times. If it ever should be neces-

sary to do more for the Roman Catholics, let it be by the united Parliament and for the whole empire. Every innovation and change will lead to claims in both islands, and will also raise parties against the measure and confound it. Such changes satisfy none, disgust the friends of the Establishment and of England, who feel that they are not so much considered as the turbulent; that their security is made subservient to ideal notions of Government, their lives and fortunes left at risk; that they, the loyal minority, are sacrificed to the disloyal majority of inveterate Papists and Republicans, whose dangerous disaffection has been proved, and that they are not to be satisfied. Not a friend will be acquired; many will be lost, and the powerful body of Protestants, on whom England can alone depend, and in whom is almost the whole property of the island, will be disgusted.

I see no necessity now to relinquish the test, in respect to certain high offices of trust.

The Protestant establishment should be secured by the first article of Union, the same as was done by the Union of Scotland.

I dread the interference of Burke's disciples in this country, and the mischief of their fanciful theories.

I should prefer two members for each county, under an idea of a representation of property; but, as leaseholds give a right of voting for counties in Ireland, the election would be in the Roman Catholics. It would be difficult now to alter the right of voting; and, if that cannot be done, perhaps it would be better to have only one member for each county, two for Dublin, one for each of the other principal cities, viz., Cork, Belfast, Derry, Waterford, and Limerick, and one for the University of Dublin—in all forty members, and forty more from the other places, which now return members to be chosen jointly, and in some cases alternately, making in the whole eighty commoners. In some instances, two places, and in other instances three places, would elect a

member. In general, five boroughs return only one member in Scotland.

32	Counties, at one each	32
1	Dublin	2
5	Cork, Waterford, Belfast, Derry, Limerick, at one each	5
1	University of Dublin	1
18	places to return nine—that is, two places to return one	9
93	places to return thirty-one — that is, three places to return one	31
150		80

It has been suggested that eighty persons would not be easily found among those who now reside in Ireland, who could afford to leave that country and reside during the sitting of Parliament in London; yet, in respect to distance, Ireland in general is considerably nearer to London than Scotland, and the expence of travelling would be less.

I incline to wish burgess rights may be extended to freeholders of at least ten pounds yearly value in the district, and compensation made for any rights taken away: this certainly will be somewhat of reform; it is the only reform I propose: if it can be admitted without danger of greater innovation, it will remove much of Irish clamour, and will really be a change for the better. Perhaps our indiscriminate abhorrence of any change, and our disposition at this moment to strengthen the aristocratical part of the constitution, which is already found sufficiently strong, may ultimately tend to make reform appear more necessary.

Thirty Peers would be sufficient; if any of them Bishops, not more than two. The greatest objection to a Union is the change it will make in the constitution and in the independence of Parliament. Bishops are named by the Crown, and, of all descriptions of persons, the most likely to be dependent. There would be no difficulty in Ireland in respect to appeals to the Lords of the United Parliament.

Ireland may well afford to pay equally with Great Britain all future taxes that may be laid, as the permanent taxes of the latter are very nearly so much as she can possibly bear.

The surplus of Irish revenue of all kinds, after the discharge of debts or of interest of debts and of establishments, to be at the disposal of the United Parliament. This surplus will greatly increase, with the improvement of Ireland, both customs and excise, and will become very considerable.

If the system of a general tax on income should take place in Ireland, it of course includes the land, and, consequently, there can be no other land-tax; but, if the tax on income does not take place, a land-tax, although an objectionable tax in all other cases, might be advisable in Ireland, as the only constitutional means of obliging the absentee to contribute.

To avoid distressing Parliament with too much trifling business, and to save the expense of applying to Parliament, turnpike-roads, canals, &c., might be managed by grand jury assessments, and traversed in the Courts of Dublin; but it is very objectionable, on account of the difficulty of checking the spirit of jobs and the power of great men in Ireland, and may become highly oppressive; perhaps it might be admitted, in a guarded manner, to a limited amount.

In respect to commercial intercourse between the two islands, England might admit of the abolition of all import duties; but, as Ireland will probably object to raising her import duties as high as the English, and also her excises, there must be countervailing duties on the entry of such articles as iron, sugar, salt, &c., into England from Ireland. Ireland would still have a considerable advantage on the admission of her manufactures into England, paying only the difference of the import duty on the raw material. It is impossible to countervail the difference of price of labour, of taxes, and excises in the two countries.

For the sake of a Union, England may admit of other manufactures of Ireland, such as woollens, and stuffs mixed

with wool, and also wool, on equal duties, which must be low, or even without any duty at all. This would remove a great cause of jealousy in Ireland; it will be something to yield. We have, unfortunately, granted to Ireland, without terms, all those advantages which should have been reserved as the price of Union. It may be necessary to have some management in England in respect to wool and woollens, but there is nothing to fear on the part of England, in respect to the import of woollens from Ireland, or the export of wool from England to Ireland. The excises on printed linens and cottons, on leather manufactures, and on malt, hops, and beer, must be countervailed by a duty on import into England from Ireland.

If it would please both countries better, each may preserve their Corn Laws, and the corn-trade may remain on its present footing; but, if it will facilitate a Union to have both countries in respect to all their produce on the same footing, precisely as two counties in England, Great Britain need not be apprehensive of the consequences. Unfortunately, we now constantly import as much oats as Ireland can spare at any time, and the quantity of meat she is ever likely to spare will not be sufficient to glut the British market. There can be no objection to giving Ireland the supply of our market before we open our ports for corn to other countries.

At present, the ports of Great Britain are open for wheat from Ireland at two shillings per quarter cheaper than from foreign countries. The opening of our ports for three months certain to all the world, when we only want a moderate quantity, may reduce the price of wheat ruinously low; but the limited quantity that could come from Ireland would not have much effect.

It would be an insurmountable objection with me to a Union, if some expedient is not found to avoid the exclusion from the British House of Commons of Irish Peers resident in England.

In the eagerness to obtain so desirable a measure as Union, it will at least be decorous, on the intrusion of eighty Irish

Members, who may be well paid by good offices in Ireland, and are in the habit of speculating for them, to do something to protect the independence of Parliament.

It might have been necessary to amplify on some of the above suggestions, if you had not been so well acquainted with the subject. They will suffice to explain to you my opinion, which, in great part, seems to correspond with yours.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF A UNION.

In all our reasonings on the relative conduct of States, we should never forget this maxim, that they are always guided by self-interest: between different governments there is no such thing as platonic affection. Let us now, with this principle always in view, consider the past as our surest guide for *the future* through the labyrinth of the policy of England, as far as it has related to Ireland.

First, With respect to Religion.

At the first conquest of this country, by the unwise policy of the conquerors, the English settlers were not sent over in such numbers as to be sufficient to effect a change in the manners of the natives. The few that came over were, in a great degree, assimilated in progress of time to their barbarous associates, and degenerated at the same time in their manners and loyalty. After this period, the English settlers were kept distinct, within their own *pale*, and the original natives were excluded from a participation of the English law.[1] (Hume, ii., 158.) In such a situation, left to all their ancient ignorance and bigotry, it was impossible that the Protestant Religion could make its way among them. It appears, therefore, that England, from the time of Henry II. to the Reformation, was far from entertaining any idea of a Political Union, by one common Parliament with Ireland; that there was a line of distinction drawn even between the English settlers and the natives. James I.

[1] It is necessary to prove this.—*Note on Original Paper.*

did indeed introduce many settlers into the northern parts of Ireland, the good effects of which measure have ever since been felt; still the original natives in the other parts of Ireland much outnumbered the settlers, and all their prejudices and bigotry were preserved unabated as in the former reigns.

Need we dwell on the evils that have originated from this fatal distinction? Look to the Rebellion of 1641. (Hume, vi., 477.) "The Irish," says Mr. Hume, "everywhere intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated for their religion." (Hume, vi., 481.) Amidst all the enormities and horrid butcheries committed in this Rebellion, "the sacred name of Religion resounded on every side, not to stop the hands of the murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy." (Hume, vi., 484.)

These religious distinctions have not been discouraged by England, nor have the Clergy been stimulated to bring about the work of Reformation. Their indolence in this respect has been connived at by Government, because the division of the whole mass of the Irish people into two different sets, differing in their politics, because differing in their religion, kept them in a state of such weakness as not to alarm the British Cabinet. "Too weak," says Sir John Davis, (pp. 5, 6, 7) "to introduce order and obedience, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius amongst the natives; and, though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form."

Now, consider what would be the consequence, if all cause for England's jealousy were removed, and if, instead of the Union of the Irish being a cause of terror, it should become a desirable object, as contributing more to the strength of England.

I do not pretend to say that such a Union as is now proposed was practicable in the time of Henry VIII., Elizabeth,

or even James; but, had it been then accomplished, and Ireland had become one with England, I am persuaded that we should never have known the many evils which have since befallen this unhappy country.

Secondly, Let us consider our past situation with respect to Trade.

England's jealousy of Ireland began at least so early as the reign of Elizabeth. "Should we exert ourselves," said her councillors, "in reducing this country to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence, and rule. The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England; they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps erect themselves into an independent State." Such were the counsels that then made their way into the British Cabinet; and we can entertain little doubt of their having operated to the present time. King William, we know, declared, in answer to the request of the people of England, that he would take care to discourage the woollen manufacture in this country. Can we be surprised at this, when we know that it interfered with the interests of the British manufacturers?

This opposition and discouragement could not have happened, had we been one people, united in one common interest: it arose from our being considered a distinct and subordinate kingdom, having our own peculiar views and interests distinct from those of England. Make us, then, one people, having one common Parliament, and therefore having but one mind; and our trade will become as extensive and as well secured as that of any other district of England.

It is true, that all countries are not fitted for such a Union as is now proposed. They may be so remote as not to admit of speedy intercommunication; or their soil and produce may be so different as to require laws and regulations of a nature entirely different. Thus America does not seem to be fitted for Political Union with England. But none of these circumstances apply to Ireland and England. But it may be

said, that we have already obtained a Free Trade. I ask, how? It was either extorted by intimidation, or bestowed with good will. If with good will, it was pure generosity on the part of England; and therefore we need not fear a more intimate connection with a people so disinterested.

But the truth is, and we boasted of it, that we procured our Free Trade by intimidation. Now, if we so obtained it, what will secure our possession? Is the system of intimidation to be continued? Are we always to keep alive the embers of Civil War with England? And, if we do, can we be certain that the time will not occur, when they may burst out into a flame that will consume ourselves?

Thirdly, Let us consider our Navy, without which Islanders can neither secure their trade nor their liberty.

Why have we no fleet, no naval arsenals in this kingdom? Are Cork, Galway, Bantry, Sligo, or Derry, ports unfit for such purposes? Are they unfit stations for our fleets to secure us from the inroads of French invaders? No Irishman will say so. Above a hundred years ago, Ireland made a perpetual grant for the support of an Irish Marine. This England never permitted to be applied, because she wished to have a monopoly of navy to herself. (Barnes, p. 38.) Do we not here see distinctly the jealousy of the British Government? Then remove the jealousy, and its effects will be at the same time removed.

Fourthly, Let us consider our political power.

In the reign of Henry VII., Sir Edward Poyning's law established the authority of the English Parliament over Ireland; and it was not till after a long struggle that this authority was relinquished; yet, since it has been relinquished, it is manifest that the business of the Empire, as far as it depends on the Irish Parliament, cannot be conducted without English influence. At least, this we must admit, that, in the reign of Henry VII., the more prevalent English influence, the better it was for Ireland. And the reason is plain; because it was

so far a Government on general principles, and on the advantages of the Empire, not a Government of faction. Let us inquire into the source of that memorable law of Poyning's, and we shall find that it was really granted at the desire of the Irish Commons, who proposed by that means to secure themselves from the tyranny of their Lords of Irish birth. (See Sir John Davis, p. 285.) In the time of Henry VII., therefore, Irish affairs were managed more to the advantage of this country by an English Parliament than by our own. Since that time it has been otherwise. What is the cause of the difference manifestly existing in the state of this country? In the time of Henry VII., it was too weak to excite any jealousy in England; but, about the reign of Elizabeth, it began to acquire some strength and consequence. If then, by a Union, all jealousy be removed, we shall return to the situation in which we were in the time of Henry VII., as far as relates to national suspicion; and therefore we may presume that the administration of our affairs by one Imperial Parliament will probably be accompanied by much greater advantages to this country, than we could expect from a Parliament of our own, left to its own free action, because such a Parliament would be subjected to the influence of faction, not guided by general views. I make this assertion on the ground of analogy.

Fifthly, Let us consider the influences of the intrigues of one country on the politics of the other.

In the reign of Charles I., the leaders of the revolution made the insurrection of Ireland the cloak of their designs against the constitution of England. (Hume, vi., 493.) Whilst they pretended the utmost zeal against the Irish Insurrection, they took no step towards its suppression, but such as would likewise give them the superiority in those commotions, which they foresaw must soon be excited in England. (Clarendon, ii., 435.) Whatever land they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves was voted under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and they made their

regular approaches against the constitution and the royal authority under the cloak of the Irish disturbances.

Thus, again, James II. (Hume, viii., 265) made use of the attachment of Ireland to the Romish Church as the means by which he would have overturned the Protestant Religion in both countries. Thus the King's council in Ireland was dissolved, and a new one appointed, in which there was a majority of Papists. After this, nothing was heard but impeachments against the Protestants, who were immediately committed to prison, without being admitted to bail. And, after this, the Protestants were disarmed, and plans were devised for turning the *Protestant* into a *Catholic* army. This conduct of the King brought on a war, in which this country, always a prey to the evils of having a Government distinct from that of England, suffered severely in blood and treasure.

Thus much may be said in favour of the proposed plan, as far as Ireland alone is concerned. But how much more strength does it derive from a review of our situation with respect to other countries, and particularly to France! And here, as before, let us confine ourselves to facts, and not launch out into the airy regions of political conjecture, in which any ingenious man can propose innumerable fictions of future ills or future benefit—all idle speculation, unless deduced from strict and cautious analogy; that is, from a contemplation of past facts.

I say, then, that our separate Government, and our consequent separate views of interest from that of England, have continually exposed us to the machinations of the enemies of these Islands, and have made this country the field in which the battle for English and Irish liberty was to be fought.

Thus we see that Perkin Warbeck, in the year after he had been repulsed from the coast of England, next made an attempt on this country, because it had always appeared forward to join any invader of the authority of the English Monarch. (Hume, iii., 395.)

Thus, again, in the reign of Elizabeth, the Spaniards in-

vaded us, because they saw us alienated from the English by religious prejudices, and ready, as the historian says, to join every invader. (Hume, v., 246.)

In the Rebellion in 1641, the French directed their attention to Ireland, because they knew that the Irish wished to shake off the English connexion. And supplies of arms were promised to the Rebels by Cardinal Richelieu. (Hume, vi., 479.) On the same principle did they act a few months ago.

Let me ask, could these things have happened, had we been one united people, united in one Parliament, one King; united in one mind, because in one interest? Surely we might as well expect that our enemies would have assailed England itself, nay, more probably; because Ireland is a more difficult country than England, and on this side forms a barrier against the citadel of the Empire. Let me ask, after these various instances of the tendency of this country to revolt, can we wonder at the jealousy of England? Can we wonder that England should wish to put a period for ever to such rebellions by removing the cause? Can we wonder that so many are found wise enough to support such a measure?

But there is another argument, which, though deduced from a contemplation of the human mind, may not perhaps appear less cogent than that which may be collected from the history of past events. By keeping up the *form of a separate Government*, we keep alive the idea that we have separate interests; we shall always regard each other with jealousy, and never grant a favour which we can with security withhold. We are led to consider ourselves justifiable in withdrawing ourselves from England whenever it suits our convenience; and, while we falsely think that such an opportunity may occur, our attachment to England is, in the mean time, weakened. With such sophisms—I call them so, because every loyal man, whether a friend to the Union or not, allows them to be sophisms—I say, with such deceitful arguments, did Roger Moore, in 1641, impose on the Irish, telling them that "a revolt, tending only

to vindicate their native liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never be deemed rebellion:" (Hume, vi., 479)—a sentiment which originated entirely from Ireland existing as a separate kingdom. Let not then our senses and minds be entirely impressed with the idea that we are a distinct people, and, by degrees, we shall lose the idea that we have any distinct interest connected with that of a distinct Legislature; and, when the idea of a distinct interest is once abolished, we may bid defiance to all the enemies of our liberty and happiness.

Now, on the other hand, let us consider what will be the result if we reject this measure. The Roman Catholic claims will soon be renewed with redoubled force. These claims must be either rejected or complied with. If rejected, a very large body of the inhabitants of Ireland will become discontented—a body of men, too, now much more powerful than in the reign of George II., when this measure was before rejected. By the lenity of the English Government, by the increasing liberality of the times, the laws which bore hard on the Roman Catholics have been abolished; in truth, all, except such as would give them *political* power—certainly all have been repealed that stood in the way of their amassing property. By their wealth, their influence has, in proportion, been increased, and therefore their claims, which would not have been listened to in the time of George II., must now be listened to with respect, and must be rejected with great danger to the State. The conduct, therefore, of the Parliament in George the Second's time could form no rule for us at this day, when circumstances are so much changed; though I am far from admitting that even then the Parliament was wise in rejecting the measure. It is, then, clear that, if the claims of the Catholics should be rejected, it would be a measure attended with the greatest national danger.

Now, let me ask, should we be safer in acceding to their claims? We know that James II., when he wished to overturn the Protestant religion in England, made his first step

towards it by encouraging the Catholics here; and this measure of the King's was highly acceptable to the Court of France, because they saw, in the advancement of the Roman Catholics to political power, an opportunity of producing an entire separation of Ireland from England. And Lord Sunderland, for his services in endeavouring to bring about this measure, received a gratuity from France. Indeed, it can hardly be conceived how the Roman Catholics in this country could be admitted to a full participation in political power, and the two countries continue connected as they are at present. A Protestant country and a Papist country, united under a Protestant monarch, who, by his coronation oath, was bound to maintain the Protestant religion, would be a political monster whose life must indeed be of short duration.

It is worthy of being remarked how studiously the writers against the Union abstain from bringing forward any arguments relative to the Roman Catholic question. They see that, in whatever manner they treat it, the inference either of fresh insurrections or of a final separation from England must be too manifest.

In the last place, let us consider the objections to the proposed plan.

The 1st is the emigration of our nobility and gentry. This must, indeed, in some measure, take place, but, by no means, in such a degree as to form any kind of counterbalance to the advantages which will result from the Union. For, in the first place, our Commoners cannot reside entirely in England, because they would thus lose their influence with their electors, and forfeit the seat which they are so anxious to preserve. Secondly, if the Commoners go in rotation to the National Parliament, they will consider London only as an occasional residence, but Ireland their home, in which they must spend two-thirds at least of their Parliamentary life. Besides, in order that they may be enabled to act as true representatives of the people, they must be for the most part resident among them; for can we suppose that the Irish electors will

send to the National Parliament representatives who, by their absence from this country, must be entirely unacquainted with its circumstances. And hence we may deduce an additional argument in favour of the plan of rotation, which will thus produce a double effect, in encouraging residence at home, and giving our representatives full means of being acquainted with the state of the country which they are to represent. Thirdly, though our Parliament will meet in England, there will be always a court here in the capital, and therefore, as far as amusements and the pleasures of polished life are concerned, there will be no considerable increase of inducement to resort to the great capital of the nation.

2dly. It is objected that Ireland has prospered under the present form, and therefore it should be continued. But, as the writers against the Union themselves argue, we should consider how much *more* it would have improved had we been united with England.

3dly. It is said that this country is so great as to require a local Parliament. But it is to be observed, that there will be always resident here a Lord-Lieutenant, invested with the full executive power, attended always by some of the principal men of the country, forming *his* council. The Executive Government, therefore, will be equally efficient as before, and the Legislative need not be in continual existence; and, if not, it surely need not exist in a given place. The Executive power, indeed, ought to exist there, where information may be received and wherever mandates may be issued with the greatest despatch; but *the place* where the Legislative Assembly holds its meetings is of no concern.

4thly. It has been objected, that England has, in so many instances, acted ungenerously, almost falsely, towards Ireland, that we should not trust her with our future interests. But who is so weak as to expect generosity and disinterestedness among States! The best writers on ethics derived their systems of morality from self-love. And the reason why indi-

viduals so often confer benefits on each other is because they have a common law, and the interest of one is not incompatible, or in no degree interferes with, that of another—in the jarring of interests, generosity ceases. So among States: let them have a common interest, and they will act with mutual attention to each other's welfare. Remove, then, the cause of England's jealousy, and the jealousy itself will vanish. Make one country with England, and you will have one common interest.

5thly. It is objected that this measure will probably excite insurrections in this country, as it did in Scotland, where the Union was followed by the Rebellion in 1715. But it is most certain that the Union and the Rebellion in Scotland were two events no more connected with each other than any two events in history whatever. It is well known that the endeavour of the Scots to place the Pretender on the throne arose entirely from their attachment to his family, and their persuasion that he was the lawful heir to the Crown, and would equally have been made in whatever manner the two kingdoms had been connected.

6thly. It is objected that the Union cannot give us, in point of trade, any benefit of which we are not already possessed. Now, even admitting this to be true, what is the consequence? All States are self-interested; and therefore, since England proposes the Union, it must be for her own advantage, and therefore we should reject it. Such is the exhortation of one of the many writers on this subject.

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

Certainly, I admit the premise; England is interested in the measure, but I deny the consequence that therefore we should reject it; because we ourselves, perhaps, may be equally interested with her, and because there are other advantages besides those of trade, as, for instance, greater national security and strength.

But, secondly, with respect to trade, though she may have

nothing to grant, she may have much to withhold. What certainty have we that our linen trade shall be countenanced and supported? What assurance can we have, that East India ships shall continue to touch in our ports, as they have for some time continued to do? May we not secure these and other advantages also, in the same manner as we gained them, that is, by the conjuncture of circumstances?

7thly. It is objected that a Union, at all times, is inexpedient, but more particularly at this, when England is embarrassed with a heavy load of debt, in the discharge of which we should have no concern. But this objection, in truth, springs from the most extreme disloyalty. For the argument, when analyzed, runs thus: England, in her war with France, has been so impoverished, that the Government cannot subsist without our aid; then let us refuse this aid, and her Government must be overturned. This argument is certainly valid, if we have no concern with her affairs; but, if her safety be our safety, how mad is it to refuse every assistance that is in our power! On a former occasion we rejected a Union with England, without any essential injury on either side: the political storm was not then violent, nor had the vessel of the State sustained those rude shocks, which, in the late tempest, have so torn her sails and wounded her helm; and shall they, who have the care of the ropes and the cordage, refuse their assistance in repairing the damages which other parts of the vessel have sustained, and preventing a shipwreck, in which the whole crew must alike perish?

But how is England interested?

1. Is she interested on account of her manufactures? Will they be benefitted by the new lights which we can give them in the construction of machines, and by such examples of diligence and attention as they have hitherto been unacquainted with?

2. Is she interested on account of her political liberty? Surely, that can in no wise be affected, since the form of our Government will remain precisely what it was.

3. Is she interested on account of her navy? Certainly no further than as a Union will remove all her fears of establishing arsenals in the different ports of this kingdom, by which we must be even more benefitted than she can.

4. With respect to taxes, there is no doubt she is interested. England has sustained a most severe and expensive war with the greatest military power that perhaps ever appeared. But has not the security of *our* religion, *our* property, and *our* laws been involved in the contest as well as her own? Dignified indeed has been the struggle of England for establishments in opposition to anarchy; and no sophistry can detract from the glory she has obtained, of being the only power in Europe that effectually stemmed the torrent of atheism and French tyranny. I am persuaded that there is not a *loyal* person in the kingdom that would in the slightest degree obstruct our freeing England from a weight of debt she has contracted, as far as our finances would admit; nor can she entertain the least doubt of being able, through our Parliament, to levy whatever contributions she may think we are able to make. In this point of view, she is not interested in a Union, as connected with taxation; but, in another point of view, she is materially. From the improvement of our trade, the wealth of the country will certainly increase, and, according as our wealth increases, we shall be enabled to contribute more to the expences of the State, with less inconvenience.

But, 5thly, in another respect, England is materially interested in this Union; and that is with respect to her political power in the scale of Europe. By the unity of Parliament, all matters relative to the Empire will be despatched with more facility and advantage to the State, as in no part subject to the influence of faction. No petty intrigues can embarrass the Minister in his plans for the general good, nor can the disaffected in one country practise on the Parliament of the other. When France, intoxicated with her successes in her first career of war, projected the invasion of these countries, and that subjugation which, she made no doubt, would be the

immediate consequence, her plan was to have established three Republics, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, entirely independent of each other; knowing that, by their division, we should be so weakened as to be unable, for the future, to obstruct her in her scheme of universal Empire. It is, therefore, manifest, by the law of contraries, that the union of the three governments must be the most effectual means of giving such strength as will enable us to counteract her ambitious designs.

England, therefore, is interested in the Union; but her interests depend on it in such a manner that ours are necessarily connected with them; inasmuch as they must result from an increase of national wealth and political consequence flowing from a consolidation of interests. That England has not any other advantage in view than such as I have mentioned seems probable from her conduct, when a Union with Scotland was proposed by James I., which measure, though supported by all the argumentative powers of Sir F. Bacon, was rejected, merely from the jealousy of the English.

Some men there are, who, no doubt, will oppose this measure—for what question was ever carried unanimously by a nation?—but, narrowly inquire into their motives, and you will find either that they are guided by self-interest, without any regard to the public good; or, that they have no respect for the established Religion of their country; or, that they wish to withhold from England every assistance that we can give her in her arduous struggle for liberty against imperious and overbearing France; hoping that, in the end, she may fail in the contest, and that at length they shall gain their long-wished-for object—a total separation of this country from England.

MR. EDWARD COOKE'S NOTES IN FAVOUR OF THE UNION.

Will a Union make Ireland quiet?

Who can judge for the future? Yet, although we cannot command futurity, we are to act as if futurity were in our

power. We must argue from moral causes to moral effects. If, then, we are in a disadvantageous situation, we must of course look to those causes which have brought us into that situation. What are they?

1st. The local independent acting of the Legislature.

2nd. The general prosperity of the country, which has produced great activity and energy.

3rd. The emancipation of the Catholics.

4th. The encouragement given to the reform principles of the Presbyterians.

5th. The want of number in the Protestants.

6th. The uncertainty of counsels as to this great division of the country.

Now what is the complaint? That we have not influence in the originating Cabinet. By a Union we should have that influence.

We have no influence in the originating Parliament of the Empire. We should have a great and commanding interest there.

The want of numbers, which is the want of power, would be increased by an accession of all the Protestants of the Empire.

The question of Reform would be settled.

The Catholic question would be settled.

The question then is, Can these moral causes of discontent be taken away with safety without Union?

1st. Can the Protestants of Ireland, as a separate State, gain an internal accession of strength as Protestants? No.

2nd. Can the Roman Catholic question be altered so as to preclude Reform of Parliament? It cannot.

3rd. Can a Reform of Parliament be made consistent with Protestant security? It cannot.

4th. The Representative body of Ireland will obtain a joint right with the Representative of Great Britain to legislate for the whole Empire.

PROJECT FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

The object is, if possible, to make compensation to the Proprietors of such Boroughs as, by being entirely under the influence of certain patrons, may be considered as their exclusive property.

To make compensation where the right is doubtful between the patron and electors would be difficult, as it would not be an easy matter to decide what part of the compensation should be applied to the use of the patron, what part to the electors. Where a Borough therefore is entirely open or entirely in the power of a patron, upon the score of compensation no difficulty can arise. But then another question presents itself, which is the desire of Government that the representation under the new order should be as free as possible. At the same time, Government is unwilling to make any admission which might found an argument for Parliamentary Reform, by making it a general principle of the arrangement to strike off the close Boroughs and keep those only which are open.

Some other principle is therefore required which will as far as possible effect these objects, without putting Government to the necessity of admitting any flaw in our present representation.

It is humbly submitted that, to attain these purposes in the best mode, a double principle should be adopted: first, superiority of rank in representation; secondly, prior right. Both these principles are perfectly known to the constitution.

Under the first would come all Counties (perhaps cities which are not counties of towns ought to come under this head: this would make a difference of three, viz., Downpatrick, Cashel, and Clogher), Counties of Towns, the University. Under the second, all such Boroughs as first sent members to Parliament would be retained till the numbers of the representatives should be complete, to the exclusion of all others. One hundred is the number of members to be sent to the Imperial Parliament: of these the Counties, it is presumed, would be allowed to send

two each, and the four principal Towns in the four provinces a like number, and the University of Dublin likewise to send two, and the remaining Counties of Towns, or Counties of Cities, one member each. This, under the first principle set down, would make the representation as follows:—

	Counties	64
Four Principal Towns.	Dublin City	2
	Cork	2
	Galway	2
	Carrickfergus, or Londonderry	2
	Waterford	1
	Drogheda	1
	Kilkenny	1
	Limerick	1
	Carrickfergus, or Londonderry	1
	Dublin University	2
	Total	79

Add to these the three remaining cities of Downpatrick, Cashel, and Clogher, and the total representation under the first head will be 82. There will then remain 18 seats to be represented for the inferior Boroughs, which will come under the second head or principle of prior right. Upon inspecting the returns, as stated in the MS. Parliamentary Register, it is found that the following towns, in addition to many of those already mentioned, were the only ones remaining which sent members to Parliament in the year 1559:—

Dundalk	Kildare	Carlingford	Fethard
Youghal	Naas	Athboy	Clonmel
Kinsale	Athy	Kells	Dungarvan
New Ross	Thomastown	Trim	Mullingar
Wexford	Ardee	Navan	
Athenry		Total . 20	

Of these, ten, *i. e.*, Ross, Athenry, Kildare, Naas, Athy, Thomastown, Carlingford, Kells, Navan, and Mullingar, are

close Boroughs, the remainder open. If all these Boroughs were admitted, a representation of 102 members would be the result, out of which (including Clogher) 11 members only would be returned for close towns; and if it was thought necessary, two of these close Boroughs could easily, upon compensation, be induced to surrender their right of representation, which would reduce the number to 100, having only nine members returned from close towns.

Under this arrangement, however, none of those set down as open Boroughs will be entitled to compensation, *i. e.*, Antrim, Lisburn, Baltimore, Bandon, Mallow, Newry, Swords, Lismore, and Tallogh, all of which, with perhaps the exception of Newry and Swords, are of the nature from which the difficulty of compensation arises, *i. e.*, where the influence of the patron is great, but not entire. Should the principles upon which this project is founded be thought worthy of adoption, it will be for Government to consider in what way compensation can best be made to the Boroughs in question, without doing injustice to those who have influence in them.

ON REDUCING THE BOROUGHS.

Private. Cleveland Row, October 8, 1799.

I have had a very long conversation with Lord B. on the subject of the paper you sent me about Irish Representation. We were totally unable to solve the difficulty of deciding who is to receive the compensation of open Boroughs, nor indeed do I think it capable of any solution, except by arrangement with the persons concerned. If this be impossible, the result must necessarily be as follows:—

Counties	32	2 each	64 Members.
Cities	2	2 „	4 „
Open Towns	30	1 „	30 „
			98

which, if we adhere to our limitation of 100, leaves only two Members for 84 Boroughs.

To extinguish these on the plea of their being created so late as the reign of James I., or by inquiring why they were created, would be very dangerous in principle, and the same plea would also, it is conceived, apply to some of the 30 open Boroughs which are meant to be retained. If, therefore, this idea must be adhered to, perhaps the best way of doing so would be to avow the plain reason, that of convenience; that, the object being to lessen the number, those are abolished which are capable of compensation in money. It would then be a question, whether to abolish them *all* instantly and compulsorily, giving the full value, and leaving only the 98 rights above stated, or whether it would not be best to class the close Boroughs in threes to alternate by Parliaments. To do this would abolish two-thirds of the present value, supposing it agreed that the one member to be sent to the United Parliament is equal to the two to the Irish Parliaments. These two-thirds might be given now compulsorily, and would be about £10,000 for each Borough: one-third of 84 is 28, which, added to 98, would make the present number of Members to the United Parliament 126, liable to be reduced as often as any of the classed Boroughs should offer to take the other third in money. Some bargain of this sort might possibly be made by private contract, before the measure is brought forward. The four Bishops' Boroughs, which belong to Government, might certainly be so arranged, and the immediate increase might probably not be more than 115 or 120, instead of the 100, originally proposed. This increase, therefore, forms a very small part of the objections to this plan.

The solid reasons against it are — 1st. That, while you abandon to so great a degree the principle of the actual representation, and form one quite different from it, and very unequal and artificial in its composition, your new system does not rest on any (even plausible) theory, but merely on conve-

nience. It is a total change, but no reform; that is, many of the open places retained, being, in practice, as much private property as the others, and the places themselves not at all more considerable. 2nd. That what you retain by preference are practically the very worst species of Representation—pot-walloping Boroughs and open elections by the mob, where neither property, nor family connexions, nor the good opinion of neighbourhood, nor any other good species of influence, would weigh against adventurers from Dublin or London, with large purses, or backed by any temporary clamour. 3rd. That you admit a principle and establish a mode of applying it, both which, if good, are quite as applicable to the case of English Representation; and that, as there will be a general and apparently a well-founded opinion that 650 is too large a body for the House of Commons, this will be suggested as a natural mode of reducing the numbers here, as well as in Ireland.

The objections are so weighty, that I think it well worth while to examine the detail of the cases, on the apprehension of which this whole plan is grounded. I mean those of the actual owners of the thirty open Boroughs, who, it is supposed, may be indisposed to the measure if any compensation in money be given for those Boroughs, as it is to be given to the electors and not to them. Considering that this number of thirty is in itself not large, and that several of these persons are probably among the decided enemies of the whole measure, it might perhaps not be impossible, by private and separate discussion with the individuals concerned, to reduce the effects of their apprehended discontent, so as to be much less dangerous in its extent than even the influences of the objections I have already stated. If this could be done, the plan of a general classing by threes of all Boroughs indiscriminately would so very nearly answer in point of number, that there could be little difficulty in reducing that to practice, thus—

32 Counties and 2 Cities.....	68
Add $\frac{116}{3}=38\frac{2}{3}$	$38\frac{2}{3}$
	$106\frac{2}{3}$
Deduct the Bishop's Boroughs, which are four, and they would diminish the number by ...	$1\frac{1}{3}$
	$105\frac{1}{3}$

And make a farther reduction for such others as might, before the measure is brought forward, be bargained for and surrendered by private agreement, and you would find the number considerably reduced, possibly below 100. The inestimable advantage of grounding the whole plan on the present rights, without any other change than that of doubling the Counties and great Cities, is so strong a recommendation of this plan, that I should think a large proportion of private accommodation, so averaged as to satisfy the proprietors of the 30 open Boroughs, very well bestowed indeed; and I should wish that the means of doing this should be examined in detail by those who are concerned with the subject, before any other plan is resorted to.

MEMORANDUM RELATIVE TO THE REPRESENTATION IN IRELAND.

September 23, 1799.

The plan originally approved of for the Representation having been given up, as trenching in too great a degree on private interest, and new principles having been adopted as the basis of the arrangement, namely, to leave the Counties represented as at present, and to give a compensation in money to Borough proprietors, it is necessary to consider how the Representation can best be cast according to this new idea.

At the time the Union took place between England and Scotland, Representation being comparatively of little value, we find that on no part of the arrangement was there less

struggle or difference of opinion than on the distribution of the Representation. The reverse may be expected in the present instance. There is no feature of the plan of Union that will so much attract the attention, and, in fact, decide the conduct of the members of the Legislature; and the persons interested will not suffer a question so important to their private interest to remain to be settled as a separate consideration on the winding-up of the business: on the contrary, every man having Borough influence will previously expect to be informed what arrangement is in contemplation; and the majority will be decided in respect to the measure itself by the operation it will have on their local authority and interest.

Until this point is absolutely settled, it is impossible to estimate our strength. We may reckon the number of persons who are not inimical to the general principle of Union, but we cannot ascertain what increase of force the avowed enemies of the measure are likely to receive from our own ranks till the plan itself is determined on, the details settled, and the compensation adjusted. We may then form a less fallacious calculation of the numbers that are likely to adhere to us through the entire of the contest.

The policy of disarming as much as possible private interest being admitted, it is evidently an object in the arrangement to avoid committing injury which shall not admit of reparation. Where the Borough influence is in the nature of property, the electors being considered and considering themselves as trustees, there seems little difficulty: if the proprietor can be ascertained, and the quantum of compensation settled, the difficulty is at an end. The individual may, in point of feeling, prefer the authority arising from this species of influence to its value in money; to this inconvenience it is impossible to apply a remedy; and we must be prepared to find a strong repugnance to the measure grow out of this principle; but where the proprietor receives a fair equivalent for what he parts with, no injustice can be complained of, and the utmost will have been

done to reconcile those interested which the nature of the case admits of.

Where the interest, from the nature of the Charter, cannot be held to be so strictly property, and yet the return, in point of fact, is not less secure to the patron, as in the case of towns where the right of voting is in the inhabitants at large, but where the lord of the soil, by his authority, can keep the number of voters, by preventing them from registering, within such limits as to give him an indisputable control in the choice of Representatives, in such cases it is difficult, in principle, to justify making him compensation as proprietor, and yet his sacrifice will be such as to make him expect it.

The difficulty will be still greater in Corporations, where the right of voting rests in persons of a less dependent description. The person in whom the interest resides may feel assured of their support as a favour; but they would little endure that he should receive compensation for it as his property.

There are two modes of making compensation; the one by Representation, the other by money. The latter seems almost exclusively applicable to Boroughs, where the interest is so distinctly understood to be property by the parties, that all interested will acquiesce in the equitable application of the money. Where any doubt can arise on this point, which there naturally will in Boroughs where the electors are not trustees, but acting for themselves under various degrees of influence, it seems unlikely that any principle of distribution of the money itself can be adopted, to which the parties interested will consent; nor is it likely that any application of the value to local purposes would be acquiesced in. If so, the question seems to resolve itself into the principle that Boroughs understood to be property may be indemnified in money, but that Boroughs not so considered must receive an equivalent for their present right in Representation.

In estimating an equivalent to Representation to the Imperial Parliament for Irish interest, whether we consider the

relative price of a Borough or that at which seats are usually disposed of, we find it about one half. One seat, therefore, in the United Parliament may be considered as a fair remuneration for two Irish seats; and I conceive it would be universally received as such, when both seats are in the same hands: but in Boroughs where two interests prevail, and at present understand each other, a compromise becomes difficult; and, the object not admitting of partition, becomes less valuable to both. This, in some degree, operates against the measure in many of the principal towns, but showed itself to such a degree at Cork, previous to the late agitation of the measure, that nothing but a strong expectation given to the parties that the Representation would be left as at present, prevented that important City from being divided on the question.

With a view to the application of this principle, it is to be observed that the Representation at present divides itself into 32 Counties, 86 Boroughs considered as property, and 32, including the University, of a different description.

It is distinctly understood that the Counties are to be represented as at present, and it seems not less so that the gross number of Commoners should not exceed 100; if these 32 Boroughs (Cork and Dublin having a double Representation) return 34 members, with 64 from the Counties, we have 98, without allotting any to the close Boroughs. On the other hand, if the Representation is given only to the most considerable of the open towns, and the others are to be classed with the close Boroughs, the embarrassment above alluded to occurs, namely, a dimunition of privilege not admitting of compensation, which will be felt by the parties interested as a peculiar hardship, the more so as they will be injured, and which cannot fail to decide them against the measure.

Should it be decided, in order to obviate this difficulty, that the 32 open towns should each be represented, there seems no other mode of proceeding left in respect to the 86 close Boroughs, but either to extinguish them totally, paying the

proprietors the full value, or else to increase the number of Representatives, so as to leave a sufficiency to distribute among the close Boroughs. When classed as in Scotland, were five Boroughs thrown together, the number of the Representatives would be 17, making the gross amount of the Representation 115. Should the plan of classing the Boroughs and the election take place as in Scotland, the influence attached to each is of so awkward a description that it will be held in little estimation by the proprietors, and their idea of compensation will vary little from what they would expect if the right of voting for Representatives was entirely withdrawn.

An election by rotation within the class, preserving all the corporations for municipal purposes, would not be liable to this objection in its full extent; though the turn of choosing the member would occur only every fifth Parliament, the advantage being ascertained and free from uncertainty, and the cabal to which the election by commissioners is liable, the privilege would be considered as of value in an inverse proportion to the number of Boroughs classed together.

Were there no objection on constitutional grounds to the principle of entire disfranchisement, it would simplify this arrangement, and, perhaps, on the whole, prove the most satisfactory to the parties interested. This principle may be the less to be apprehended in the present instance, from the fact of nearly all the close Boroughs in Ireland having been erected for a special purpose in the reign of James I., namely, for the security of the Protestant Establishment, which special purpose being much more effectually secured by the incorporation of the Protestant Government of Ireland with the Protestant Government of Great Britain, the necessity for their continuance has so far ceased: it may, therefore, very fairly be argued, without furnishing an admission prejudicial to any description of Charter, that, the extinction of a certain number of Boroughs being indispensable to the arrangement, these Boroughs have been selected, because, with few exceptions, they

had been the most recently erected upon a ground of policy which would no longer exist, and because, in point of fact, they admitted of that species of compensation which individuals might reasonably expect where they were called upon to make a sacrifice for the public advantage.

If disfranchisement on the application of the corporators of Boroughs was thought less objectionable than compulsory disfranchisement, there could be no doubt many would prefer extinction and entire compensation to any mode of combination that could be adopted. Surrenders thus obtained might reduce the number to be classed so as to make the influence preserved of a more convenient nature: two Boroughs united, giving an alternate choice, would be held in estimation; classed beyond this number, they would retain little value. Were the number to be distributed among the 86 Boroughs to be ascertained, and it was thought advisable not to connect more than two Boroughs together, if a sufficient number of Boroughs did not apply for disfranchisement, the number requisite might be drawn by lot. If too many applied, the preference might be decided in like manner, unless agreed among the parties; but as this last suggestion proceeds upon a supposition of the number of Representatives being suffered to exceed 100, and as the voluntary surrender of the number required can alone render the principle consistent with itself, it seems rather to increase than to obviate the difficulty.

The arrangement in the above statement has been considered more in a personal than in a constitutional point of view. The operation of the measure upon individual interests being less obvious and more of a local nature, it has been thought right to trace it, in order that it may be considered how far it is expedient to accommodate general principles (with a view to the success of the measure) to the ideas the proprietors have of their own private interests.

As compensation is to be made, it may be worth considering how a proceeding somewhat embarrassing in its principle can

be best executed. The less the detail is canvassed in Parliament the better. The general principle alone ought to be stated there, namely, that an injury is to be done to individual interests for the public good, which, in point of justice, but still more strongly in point of policy, requires compensation.

The maximum of compensation that any Borough shall be entitled to ought to be settled, and, with this restriction, it may be referred to a board of Commissioners, acting on their oaths as a question of equity, to apply the amount so as to provide for each particular case.

Were it possible to devise any means, in Boroughs where the influence is general, to apply the value to local purposes, so as equally to provide for the interests of the parties concerned, it would be a great point gained, inasmuch as it would enable you to class open with close Boroughs, without doing what would be considered as an injury, and which must of course impede the measure; but this appears almost impossible. It would be more practicable, as far as the voters are concerned than with respect to the persons in whom the influence is; but, upon the whole, the transaction must, from its nature, be extremely complicated, and, of course, likely to produce much clamour and dissatisfaction.

These ideas are thrown out loosely, merely as materials for forming a decision upon. The question is, in itself, of the last importance, highly so in a constitutional point of view; but still more so, perhaps, as involving the fate of the question itself. The Union must be exposed to very great hazard, of private dissatisfaction, if the arrangement of the Representation shall be suffered to co-operate with the general opposition to the measure.

It is indispensable that a plan for the Representation should be digested without delay, and it seems obviously desirable, when the attainment of the object cannot be placed in competition with a rigid adherence to economy, that the compensation to be given should be felt by the parties interested to be

liberal, and that the general system should trench as little as possible on that portion of the Representation to which pecuniary compensation is not applicable.

SUGGESTIONS OF THE LORD-LIEUTENANT RELATIVE TO THE REPRESENTATION.

The Duke of Portland, in his despatch of the 25th,[1] calls upon the Lord-Lieutenant for his suggestions upon the future constitution of the Representation for this kingdom returnable to the Parliament of the Union, making it a preliminary condition that the number of Commoners shall not exceed 100, and that the present franchises in the several Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, shall not be impeached or extinguished.

The Lord-Lieutenant, impressed with the wisdom of avoiding any infringement of chartered rights, considers it not incompatible with this principle, and for various reasons highly expedient in the management proposed, to follow the Scotch precedent, and to give a preference to the County Representation, as also that of the great commercial towns over that of the close Boroughs.

As no place can aspire to return more than one member, his Excellency considers that much real embarrassment would arise to the commercial interests of the trading towns, and well founded objections be stated on the part of the Counties, were they exposed to be left without a Representative in the Legislature, specially charged with an attention to their local concerns.

His Excellency, therefore, proposes that every place now returning two members should hereafter return but one.

That each County should return one member absolutely to the United Parliament.

That the Cities of Dublin, Drogheda, Newry, Londonderry, Galway, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and should return one member absolutely.

That the University should return one member absolutely,

[1] of November, 1798, ii., 19.

making in all 42 members. That from the remaining 108 places now returning members, 54 should be chosen, making the gross number of Representatives 96; and in order to avoid the cabal of delegating from amongst themselves, as in the case of the Scotch Peers, or of the uncertainty of selection by lot, which would be peculiarly inconvenient to official men, or of incorporation, which would be altogether impracticable in a representation so constituted as ours, that the Boroughs should alternately choose a member to the United Parliament, classing them so that the different parts of the kingdom might be proportionably represented in each Parliament.

This would, in a certain degree, affect the value of Borough property, and, it is to be presumed, might proportionably disincline their patrons to a Union. The Lord-Lieutenant is of opinion that means might be found, without resorting to the embarrassing principle of avowed compensation, so as to satisfy the private interests of at least a sufficient number of the individuals affected to secure the measure against any risk arising from this consideration. At all events, he considers the reasons before stated for giving a preference to the Representation of Counties and Cities to be so weighty as to counterbalance any additional difficulty in reconciling the individuals to the arrangement.

REMARKS ON THE PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTIONS RESPECTING THE UNION.

The resolutions state:—

1. That each country is to remain separately chargeable with their past debts, and with any future debts which it may contract according to the proviso contained in the 9th resolution.

2. All joint debt hereafter contracted, together with the general expenses of the United Kingom, to be defrayed proportionably by the respective countries.

3. The United Parliaments are to have a discretion to sub-

stitute a common system of taxation in lieu of any proportion, as the means of contributing to the common expense; but each country is still to remain subject to its separate expense. This regulation cannot, in point of fact, take place till the amount of separate expense, to which either or both countries is liable, shall bear but an inconsiderable proportion to what is common expense; and it would much accelerate the period at which common taxes might supersede proportional contributions if some principles were established, by which, without violating the interest of either country, their respective separate debts, so far as they are commensurate, might, not only now but hereafter, as often as any separate charge shall be incurred, be consolidated into a common debt, the charge to be borne in the ratio of their respective contributions.

The annual charge of the debt of Great Britain is about £18,000,000. The annual charge of the debt of Ireland is about £1,400,000. The proportion between the charge of their debts is nearly as 12 to 1. The proportion of their contributions is fixed at 6 to 1 in peace, and 9 to 1 in war, suppose the medium 7 to 1. Were the charge of the English to the Irish debt in the proportion of 7 to 1, and were the periods of their extinction the same, there could be no objection on the part of either country to their being consolidated, and borne proportionably as joint debts. If the whole of the debt of England is too large in amount to admit of consolidation, such a proportional part may be consolidated as will charge the respective countries in the proportion of their contributions; that is, supposing the Irish annual charge arising from debt to be £1,400,000, and the medium proportion of their contributions to be as 7 to 1, a portion of the debt of Great Britain subject to an annual charge of £9,800,000 may be consolidated with it. The common debt of the United Kingdom would then bear a charge of £11,800,000, of which Ireland would pay an eighth part, and England would be subject to a separate annual charge of £7,200,000 in addition to her seven-eighths of the

consolidated charge; but, as the debts of the two countries are determinable at different periods, either their relative sinking funds must be assimilated, or the value of corresponding annuities, determinable at unequal periods, be calculated: the former would be the most simple.

As Great Britain raises more of her supplies within the year than Ireland, debt is more likely rapidly to accumulate in the latter country. If the principle above stated can be realized, every increase of debt on the part of Ireland might be consolidated with a corresponding proportion of British debt.

The common debt would be thus increased, whilst the partial debt would be decreasing; and, as the whole debt of both countries now subsisting must be extinguished within forty years, the United Parliament would be enabled to supersede proportional contributions as soon as the separate debt of England was brought within such limits as to admit of being borne by local taxes.

The only other consideration that it would be requisite to attend to is the capacity of Ireland to raise her supplies in the manner of Great Britain; for, from the period of the declaration, no partial debt could be incurred in either country; and if that same proportion of the supplies was not raised within the year in Ireland as in Great Britain, either the former must be proportionably discharged from her share of expense, or the latter abandon her system, and be obliged, in a greater degree than she would otherwise think it wise, to return to the funding system.

II. THE CATHOLICS.

MEMORIAL OF THE CATHOLIC PRELATES OF IRELAND, PRAYING FOR THE FOUNDATION OF A SEMINARY FOR EDUCATION OF CLERGY.

To his Excellency John Earl of Westmorland, Lord-Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland.

January 14, 1794.

The humble Memorial of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland.

May it please your Excellency—Your Memorialists beg leave, with the greatest deference, to represent to your Excellency, That a great number of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom are attached to the Roman Catholic Religion, insomuch that they have submitted to legal penalties rather than abandon it.

That the duties of morality have been taught, and religious rites administered, in the manner most acceptable to this portion of his Majesty's subjects, by a body of clergymen educated according to the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. The conduct of these clergymen has never suffered the reproach of disaffection or irregularity; on the contrary, they have been complimented, on many occasions, for assiduously instructing their respective flocks in the sacred precepts of Christianity, and for inculcating obedience to the laws, and veneration for his Majesty's royal person and Government. Memorialists humbly apprehend that the labours of a body of men thus occupied are useful to the State, and that considerable detriment would ensue to the cause of religion, and to that good order which is connected with it, if the public were to be deprived of their services.

Under the laws which formerly existed, your Excellency's Memorialists were obliged to resort to foreign countries for education, particularly to the kingdom of France, where they had procured many valuable establishments; four hundred persons were constantly maintained and educated therein for the Ministry of the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland. In the anarchy which at present afflicts that kingdom, these establishments have been necessarily destroyed; and, even although lawful authority should be restored, Memorialists conceive the loss to be irreparable; for the revenues would not easily be recovered, and, as the profligate principles of rebellion and atheism, propagated by the faction which now rules that kingdom, may not be speedily effaced, they would not expose youth to the contagion of sedition and infidelity, nor their country to the danger of thus introducing the pernicious maxims of a licentious philosophy. Memorialists, therefore, are apprehensive that it may be found difficult to supply the Ministry of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland with proper Clergymen, unless Seminaries, Schools, or Academies, be instituted, for educating the youth destined, to receive Holy Orders according to the discipline of their own Church, and under ecclesiastical superiors of their own communion; and they beg leave further to represent, with all due respect and deference to your Excellency's wisdom, that said Institution would prove of advantage to the nation at large, and be a matter of great indulgence to his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland.

Whilst sentiments unfavourable to the members of their communion prevailed, your Excellency's Memorialists were discouraged from seeking the means of education in their native country; but, conceiving that the demeanour of the Roman Catholics has removed such ill opinion, they humbly hope that the moral instruction of a people who have been legally authorized to acquire landed property in this kingdom, and upon whom many other valuable privileges have been conferred,

under your Excellency's administration and auspices, may appear to his Majesty's ministers a subject not unworthy of his Royal consideration and bounty. Your Excellency's Memorialists are confirmed in this hope, by the opinion often and publicly expressed by respectable individuals of their Protestant fellow-subjects, that it would conduce to the public good to educate the Irish Ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic Religion within his Majesty's dominions.

Your Excellency's Memorialists also beg leave humbly to represent that, although the mode of Education practised in the University of Dublin may be well adapted to form men for the various departments of public business, yet it is not alike applicable to the Ecclesiastics of a very ritual religion, and by no means calculated to impress upon the mind those habits of austere discipline so indispensable in the character of a Roman Catholic clergyman, that without them he might become a very dangerous member of society.

That a distinct place of education is also necessary, because the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church enjoin that candidates for Holy Orders shall be proficients in certain branches of learning, which are not included in the exercises of the University of Dublin.

That even where the Roman Catholic is the Established Religion, candidates for Holy Orders are obliged to receive the most important part of their education in seminaries, distinct from the public Universities.

That many persons who destine themselves to the Ministry of the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland are not sufficiently opulent to bear the expense of education in the University of Dublin, and of constant residence in the metropolis: it is therefore the more necessary to provide literary instruction for them on more easy conditions; and although the liberality of the present heads of the University might induce them to receive persons on the foundation, yet neither could a sufficient number be thus accommodated, nor would it prove

grateful to the feelings of the parties; and many other inconveniences might arise, if young men should observe great temporal advantages conferred upon their fellow-students, whilst they were restricted to the humble walk of a subordinary Ministry. From these considerations, and conceiving that piety, learning, and subordination would be thereby essentially promoted, your Excellency's Memorialists are induced to undertake the establishment of proper places for the Education of the Clerical Youth of their Communion. Being advised by counsel that his Majesty's Royal license is necessary, in order legally to secure the funds which they may appropriate for that purpose, they humbly beg leave to solicit your Excellency's recommendation to our most gracious Sovereign that he will be pleased to grant his Royal license for the endowment of Academies or Seminaries for educating and preparing young persons to discharge the duties of Roman Catholic Clergymen in this kingdom, under Ecclesiastical Superiors of their own Communion.

JOHN THOMAS TROY,
Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

For myself, and on behalf of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland.

ACCOUNTS OF THE CATHOLIC SEMINARY AT MAYNOOTH, FROM ITS INSTITUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

		£.	s.	d.
Parliamentary Grant	1795	8,000	0	0
,, ...	1796	7,000	0	0
,, ...	1797	10,000	0	0
,, ...	1798	10,302	5	10
		35,302	5	10
Deduct pells and poundage.....		1,059	0	0
		34,243	5	10

	£	s.	d.
Paid for house and lands at Maynooth, with the approbation of Government	4,637	0	0
Paid Stapleton, the builder, at sundry times, on account of his contract to enlarge the buildings for £12,420, and on account of the sum of £4,189 more for internal accommodations, pursuant to plans and estimates submitted to the House of Commons: about	12,800	0	0
Paid on account of furniture for 200 students, at £7 each, amounting to £1,400, pursuant to ditto.....	250	0	0
Paid the expenses of the establishment, consisting of professors, students, officers, servants, &c. *Note.*—There were 50 students for the first three years, and 75 students for the last half year, to March 25, 1799, pursuant to estimates laid before the House of Commons	10,046	5	0
	27,733	5	0
Balance against the Seminary.....	6,510	0	10
State of the balance, amounting to	6,510	0	0
There will be due to Stapleton, the builder, on the 24th of June next, and must then be paid to him, after the final completion and inspection of his works, about	3,800	0	0
For furniture, to be paid in a fortnight, being the remainder of the £1,400 above mentioned.....	1,150	0	0
Not yet drawn from the Treasury	2,000	0	0
	6,950	0	0
Balance in favour of the Seminary ...	440	0	0

The Seminary has accounted before the Commissioners of Accounts for all their receipts and payments to March 25,

1798, which have been allowed to be correct. The accounts for the year ending the 25th of last month, 1799, are preparing for the Commissioners, and will be ready in a few days; these latter accounts have also been passed, and allowed to be correct.

STATEMENT OF THE TRUSTEES RELATIVE TO THE STUDENTS AT MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.

The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Seminary at Maynooth assembled in Dublin on Monday, April 22, 1799, having observed several late misrepresentations respecting that establishment in the public prints, and heard groundless reports reflecting on themselves, deem it expedient to publish the following statement:—

1. That no order was received by them, or any person acting under them, to present their accounts until late in the present session; and that, upon receipt of an order to that effect, they were immediately furnished to the proper officer; a convincing proof that they were not neglected, as insinuated.

2. That the delay in presenting the aforesaid accounts to the Commissioners arose from the Trustees having conceived that, as the Parliamentary grants were appropriated to the building and to the establishment, except in one instance, they could not be satisfactorily closed before the completion of the former, which is not expected before next July.

3. That no part of the Parliamentary grants remains unaccounted for, as will appear on a reference to the Account Office.

4. That, conformably to the Act of Parliament establishing the Seminary, the constitutions of it were presented to his Excellency Earl Camden in the summer of 1795, and approved by him.

5. That scholars were admitted in the year 1795, and lodged in the house purchased from Mr. John Stoyte, and in others at Maynooth, where they were maintained six months before

the foundation-stone of the new building was laid by Earl Camden, in April, 1796. It has therefore been erroneously insinuated in the prints that the Trustees charged for the subsistence of scholars, before there was a house provided for their reception.

6. That, so far from promoting or abetting the late wicked Rebellion, the president, masters, and others of the Seminary exerted themselves in suppressing it in the neighbourhood of Maynooth: Captain Irwin and officers of the Duke of York's Highlanders witnessed and commended their loyal exertions.

7. That well-grounded apprehensions had been entertained that the rebels intended to force such of the scholars as were not in orders to join them. To prevent this, they were sent to their respective homes, with the approbation of the Lord-Lieutenant, who granted them passports and protections.

8. That the Ecclesiastical Trustees and other Roman Catholic prelates did likewise exert themselves, in the most public and decided manner, in their respective districts, in suppressing the Rebellion, as appears from their printed instructions and uniform conduct. Their clergy in general followed the example. It is to be lamented that it was not imitated by all of them. The following extract from the Journal of Proceedings of the Board of Trustees manifests their vigilance:—

Friday, May 11, 1798.

Present, Lord Fingall in the Chair, Lord Gormanston, Doctor O'Reilly, Doctor Moylan, Doctor French, Lord Kenmare, Doctor Troy, Doctor Plunkett, Doctor Cruise.

Resolved: The Trustees, considering with grief the unhappy spirit of political delirium which, after having marked its progress through some of the most cultivated parts of Christendom by the destruction of order, morality, and religion, appears to have made such strides in this kingdom as menace ruin to everything we should venerate and esteem as Christians and as men; and deeply sensible of the perfect

opposition between every part of such pernicious system and the beneficent objects of the institution over which they preside, think it expedient to order that the president be directed to maintain the most vigilant inspection over the conduct of every individual admitted in any manner to a participation of the benefits of the College; that he be empowered, and he is hereby empowered, to punish, by expulsion, such person or persons as may, by their actions or discourse, support or abet any doctrines tending to subvert a due regard to the established authorities; and that the scholars and students be admonished that on those topics, and in these critical times, a conduct not only free from crime, but even from suspicion, ought to be expected from their gratitude, their attested allegiance, and sacred professional character.

9. That, as the Irish Roman Catholic clergy have lost their seminaries on the Continent, their ministry in this kingdom must shortly fail if candidates for it be not educated at home. To uphold the religion of a country is a measure of the highest political necessity, especially when the enemies of all social order have fatally succeeded in counteracting its salutary influence in every State which they have overturned or attempted to disturb. The seminary at Maynooth was instituted to preserve the succession of Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland. Two hundred scholars are very inadequate to that purpose. Four hundred were formerly educated for the Roman Catholic ministry in the dominions of France only, exclusive of others instructed in Italy, the Austrian Netherlands, and Spain and Portugal.

10. That the Trustees cannot dissemble their painful feelings on observing their principles and conduct daily misrepresented in the public prints. They consider the indiscriminate censure and abuse of the Roman Catholic body as unseasonable and impolitic as it is certainly unjust and unmerited, and apprehend that the disaffected of all religious persuasions will avail

themselves of it, to foster a spirit of discontent, distrust, and irritation amongst the ignorant, the credulous, and the needy. To deceive them is the constant object of all leading agitators, who use every means to excite jealousies, and cherish them for their own selfish and seditious purposes.

PAPERS COMMUNICATED BY SIR J. C. HIPPISLEY.[1]

Sir J. C. Hippisley to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

(Transmitted under a flying seal through Lord Castlereagh.)

Curzon Street, January 8, 1799.

Dear Sir—Having lately met your friend, Mr. Fallon, we entered into some conversation on the Catholic subject of Ireland, and I was informed by him that there was to be a meeting of the College Trustees some time in this month, when the question of provision for the Catholic clergy was to be agitated.

I had before heard that there was a difference of opinion among your prelates on this subject, some thinking "that such a provision might produce less subordination than was consistent with the good government of the inferior clergy of your church," and others, "that it might countenance a popular construction of the entire dependence of your whole community on his Majesty's ministers." Some persons on this side of the water have also contended that Rome itself (I should rather say, in its present unfortunate circumstances, the See of Rome) would be disinclined to such an arrangement.

I desired Mr. Fallon to say it was my intention to have the pleasure of soon renewing my correspondence with you; and, having lately had much communication with some of the King's ministers relative to the situation of the Catholic clergy of Scotland, I think it not only opportune, but in some degree a

[1] These Papers, which extend to page 141, are referred to by Sir John Cox Hippisley in his letter to Lord Castlereagh, ii., 187.

duty, to state to you the sentiments of those of the Catholic prelates in Great Britain, with whom I have had an intercourse on this subject, as well as the opinion of those ministers with whom I have had interviews or correspondence.

I have the pleasure to enclose an extract of the last letter of that respectable prelate, Dr. Hay, who has chiefly been the organ of conveying the sentiments of his colleague, Dr. Chisholm, who, with Dr. Hay, has certified the documents I transmitted to the King's ministers. In the commencement of the same letter, Dr. Hay says, "But what particularly attracted my admiration, and excited in my heart the warmest sensations of gratitude and respect, was the humane reception with which his Grace the Duke of Portland received your application in our favour. It shows how much his Grace partakes of the benevolent dispositions of his royal master, and of his paternal concern for the happiness of all his people."

The Duke of Portland, you will recollect, as being charged with the Home Department, is the minister to whom such communications were to be made officially; and I had the pleasure to find the same favourable sentiments in Mr. Secretary Dundas. The point yet to be settled is the mode of administering suitable relief consistent with the popular prejudices, which are still but too common in that part of Great Britain.

From my correspondence with the Catholic prelates in Scotland, and my communication here with Dr. Douglas, the prelate charged with the London District, I find there is but one opinion of the great advantage of an establishment of such provision or relief as can be afforded by Government to the Catholic clergy, both in North and South Britain; and you will see in the enclosed extract, that the worthy prelate, Dr. Hay, anticipates with rapture the great consolation which your most respected and venerable Chief Pastor, in the midst of his afflictions, will derive from the information of such an act of benevolence.

Indeed, with respect to the See of Rome, we want no new

proof of its ready acquiescence in any measures of regulation the King's Government may think advisable, which do not interfere with the established doctrine or universal discipline of your Church. No person has more strongly inculcated this truth than yourself in your very excellent pastoral letters, particularly in that of the 18th February, 1798, which I considered so well adapted to disabuse the public mind in this country some time since, that I published a short extract of it, with a suitable introduction, and had it circulated with the effect it merited. I have the pleasure to enclose a copy of that little publication. We therein see your venerable Sovereign Pontiff, directing that even the Pontifical oath, prescribed in the Roman ritual, should be altered to obviate the construction which had injudicially obtained, to the prejudice of your religion and its professors.

But I need not recite to you the various instances of the candour and liberality, which the good Pius VI. has manifested, on many occasions, highly interesting to his Majesty's Government and his Catholic subjects. They are, in fact, as multiplied as have been the vulgar prejudices against every thing connected with the See of Rome. "If the present state of the world has not taught us better things," (said once to me an estimable friend, speaking to this point) "our error is very much our fault."

The concession of national superiors of the British and Irish Seminaries in Rome, and the acquiescence of the Pope in the recommendations in favour of two Cardinal Protectors of the English Catholic Clergy from the English resident agents, in the name of their constituents, are eminent examples, as they involved a striking departure from a long established practice, which materially affected the patronage and interest of persons of high consideration at Rome. It is a remarkable fact that Cardinal Campanelli was nominated protector of the English Catholics, against the express recommendation of the Cardinal York in favour of the Pope's own nephew, Cardinal Braschi.

On the death of Cardinal Campanelli, a few months afterwards, when the Cardinal York no longer interfered, I ventured (being on the spot) to suggest to the English agents to request the nomination of Cardinal Braschi: the Pope was extremely pleased with this compliment to his family, and the Cardinal did not disappoint my expectations, as he very warmly supported the reform of the Colleges, which I had so urgently solicited. In fact, Cardinal Braschi had no particular habits with the Cardinal York, whose recommendation before was merely complimentary to the Pope.

Having mentioned the reform of the Colleges (though you have seen much of my correspondence on that occasion, in which I had the satisfaction of ultimately succeeding), I must beg to repeat my declaration of the only motives which could have influenced me to go to that extent of perseverance. I thought it extremely important that the national youth transferred to Rome, at the tender age of ten or a dozen years, and destined to exercise the functions of the Priesthood in his Majesty's dominions, should have all the advantages of an education in the civil principles of the established government; while they received, on the other hand, a clerical education, suited to their future destination. They could not hope for such an education under Italian superiors; they might, under British or Irish subjects, recommended as proper persons to be entrusted with so important a charge by the National Catholic Prelacy of Great Britain and Ireland. Such an education offers more solid security in such a case than the mere establishment of an oath of allegiance.

I find myself returning to a length which was not my design when I sat down; but the subject is tempting, and I will yet trespass a little farther.

In conversation with those of his Majesty's Ministers with whom I am most in habits, I had the pleasure to hear that nothing was more distant from their ideas than any establishment in Ireland which could tend to countenance insubordi-

nation in any class of your clergy; indeed, it was not possible that such an idea could have entered their minds. Though I admit it is possible that a fixed establishment of allowances, unsubjected to the control, in certain instances, of your Prelacy, might have sometimes tended to such effect; on the contrary, however, the measures in speculation, I understand, must, if adopted, necessarily strengthen the due influence of your superior Clergy, the Catholic Metropolitans and other Prelates becoming the natural organs of the provision, and their opinions on such a subject ever meeting with due consideration and deference from the Ministers of the Crown.

The other objection is almost too futile to speak of, viz., "that, by accepting the projected establishment, the Catholic Clergy would be considered as more dependent than at present on the Government, and, of course, becoming mere instruments of Ministers."

This objection, I am persuaded, was never suggested by any of those respectable prelates, whose multiplied pastoral letters have reflected so much credit on themselves, and must have been highly beneficial to the country, even in these distracted times.

I cannot persuade myself but they do think that a public national provision for their order is highly in character, both for Government itself and the dignity of your prelacy. The general interest of the State and your own weight and consequence appear, to my humble apprehension, to be most intimately connected with such an establishment. It would naturally produce that frequency and freedom of communication between your Metropolitan Clergy and his Majesty's Ministers, which must daily improve and ripen into reciprocal confidence.

I had written thus far when your friend, Mr. Fallon, called on me, and showed me your letter of the 31st December. I was very happy to be informed of the sentiments it expressed, and have no doubt that this business will be agitated with every

deference to its importance, and with all the temper, and candour, and judgment which, I am persuaded, reside in your Prelacy: I own I cannot but anticipate great benefit to the Catholics from the proposed Union, and am persuaded that their conduct, on the present occasion, will be decisive of their future advantages. But this is too wide a subject to discuss in a letter.

I will only add, to this long intrusion, the most perfect assurance of my respect and every disposition which can contribute to further the real interests of your Catholic fellow-subjects. I am satisfied that their real interests are so much in unison with the interests of every good subject of the King, that I hazard nothing in making this declaration. I have seen great progress made within a few years, and glory in being the fortunate instrument in restoring harmony between two Governments, alienated for more than two centuries. I grieve that the baneful influence of French anarchy has so materially checked the progress of those benefits which we had a right to consider as inseparable from the improving habits of correspondence between the Courts of London and Rome.

You will see that part of your inquiry, in your last letter to Mr. Fallon, is answered in the preceding pages. I will vouch for the opinions of the British Catholic Prelates to the extent I have stated; and I am satisfied that the venerable and much injured Chief of your Church will fully justify the prediction of Dr. Hay's letter, if a full and candid statement of the proposed measure be transmitted to him. May I beg you, my dear sir, to present my respects to those of your worthy colleagues who have been most accustomed to be acquainted with my correspondence, though indirectly—I mean, Dr. Egan,[1] Dr. Moylan,[2] Dr. Bellew,[3] &c. Most ardently do I pray for the restoration of order in your distracted country. In

[1] Catholic Archbishop of Tuam. [2] Catholic Bishop of Cork.
[3] Catholic Bishop of Killala.

point of personal interest even I cannot be indifferent to it, having a considerable stake in the South of Ireland.

I promised Mr. Fallon that I would take care to convey Barnel's book to you, which, I trust, will soon arrive safe.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISLEY.

I enclose a little *brochure* of the sufferings of Pius VI.; it might have been better executed, but it is not uninteresting. On a former occasion, I sent you a copy of the Cardinal Secretary of State's letter to me, which occasioned General Stuart's general orders at Lisbon, which general orders were so highly approved by the King's Ministers.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Hobart.

Curzon Street, January 12, 1799.

My dear Lord—Since you left town, Mr. Fallon (a Dominican priest, and agent of Dr. Troy, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin) called upon me, at the instance of his principal, requesting me to read a letter of Dr. Troy, in which he seems anxious that I should not entertain an opinion that he is disinclined to the intended provision for the Catholic Clergy in Ireland, or to the Union itself.

In fact, the Doctor's former letter to his agent, which I had also seen, was not so explicit, and surmised, at least, difficulties in the way of the intended provision. He knew that I had seen that letter; and, in his letter of the 31st of December, which his agent showed to me yesterday, the Doctor disclaims any opposition to the provision, but says it will be discussed at the meeting of their College trustees some time this month.

He states also, "that the Catholics lately had a meeting at Lord Fingall's, which he attended, but had given no opinion of the Union, nor should he till he knew the Articles; if they contained nothing prejudicial to the Pope's supremacy in the

Catholic Church of Ireland, he saw no reason why he should oppose it; that the meeting adjourned *sine die*, as it was thought more advisable that the Catholics should offer their opinions as freeholders than at that meeting. The Orangemen, he said, were most violent against the Union, and wished to attach the Catholics to their opposition." So far the Doctor.

Foreseeing that it might be material to be assured of some steadiness in the opinion of the Catholic prelates on this side of the water, I urged with Ministers some provision for the Scotch Catholic clergy, which, from their miserably reduced situation, I knew would be highly grateful to them; and I had some conferences with Doctor Douglas, the Catholic Bishop of the London district, who is anxious to get a provision for the English Catholic clergy, and which indeed had some time since been promised. Dr. Troy, in his last letter to his agent, is very desirous to know "what the opinions of the British Catholic prelates are on the subject of provision."

In discussing this subject last week with Mr. Dundas, and before with the Duke of Portland, I contended for the good example such a provision would give to the Irish Catholic clergy, and I found every disposition, in both the Duke and Mr. Dundas, to grant it. With respect to the Pope's supposed disinclination to such a provision, I know full well whence that idea is current; as there are certain persons who would willingly frustrate it. I will answer for the Pope's approbation of it, even should he be cajoled into a constructive disapprobation of it before a proper statement is made to him; and, though a Protestant, I can say "I am not reckoning without my host." From the documents your Lordship has seen, I think you may give me credit on this point.

It is necessary on this discussion to examine some facts which have had already but too much influence and produced *tracasseries*, leading to mischievous consequences. When I first suggested to the Pope, in the spring of 1793, to send Monsignore Erskine to England, the Chevalier Azara, the Spanish Mi-

nister, then having great influence at the Vatican, proposed that Dr. Hussey, the chaplain of the Spanish Ambassador, should be considered by the Pope as the organ of communication with the British Ministers. To this I objected, stating that, if any person on the spot was to have a preference, it should be Dr. Douglas, (the British Catholic prelate of the London district) who had already had some conferences with Lord Grenville, but that the mission of a prelate direct from Rome, though without ostensible appointment, would be the better compliment; that, from Mr. Erskine being the grandson of an Earl of Kelly, and speaking the language perfectly, his appearance could give no umbrage to the public, and it would be for Ministers to communicate as much or as little with him as they pleased. In short, I succeeded against the Spanish Minister, and I wrote to Lord Grenville, requesting his Lordship to send Mr. Erskine a passport to Ostend, which was done.

It has happened since that period, that Dr. Hussey has been appointed the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, and has wormed himself into Erskine's good graces, who incautiously reported to Rome a very offensive measure of Hussey's in a way so as to have produced a sort of censure on Dr. Douglas of the London district; this, however, will be rectified, as Hussey's conduct was highly exceptionable, and intrusive on the established discipline, arrogating to himself, as chaplain to the Spanish mission, *flagrante bello*, the right of nominating Priests to officiate at the Spanish Chapel without the concurrence of Dr. Douglas. The priest named by Hussey was this very Mr. Fallon, the Dominican Friar and agent of Dr. Troy.

And now a word of Friars. Dr. Troy himself is a Dominican, and, as such, owes implicit obedience to the General of his Order, a Spaniard, residing in Spain. His agent at Rome, Father Concanen, a Dominican also, was ever at warfare with the agents of the *secular* prelates of Ireland; and Fallon told me yesterday he hoped that agent (Concanen himself) would

soon be appointed a bishop in Ireland, as there was a vacancy. At Rome, I had repeated conferences with the Pope's Ministers on this subject of Bishops-Friars; the records of Propaganda itself proving the eternal squabbles and annoyance resulting from Friars, when employed in the episcopacy or on foreign mission.

The Cardinal Antonelli, who was at the head of Propaganda, concurred with me entirely on this point, and assured me that no Friar should in future be appointed to the episcopacy in Ireland. Dr. Troy himself was appointed against the opinion of the most intelligent of the Pope's Ministers: there was no objection to his character, but the fact of his being a Dominican Friar was in itself thought exceptionable. When I left Rome, in 1795, there were two Dominicans (Troy, of Dublin, and Macmahon, of Killaloe) and one Franciscan (M'Guire, of Kilmore), Catholic Bishops in Ireland. Dr. Moylan, of Cork, (a secular prelate) was esteemed the most able of their bench. It should seem that Dr. Hussey had got into great habits with Dr. Troy, but I question if Hussey has not the longer head of the two. Troy's pastoral letters have certainly great merit, but one of Hussey's to his clergy at Waterford, some twelve or fifteen months since, was as mischievous a performance as I ever read, and Ministers here took care he should know their sentiments on that subject. He was in dudgeon thereat, and the Duke of Portland told me he demanded his passport "to return to Spain;" it was made out, but the Doctor thought better of it, and he remains to lend his hand to the *tranquillity of Ireland.* It is but justice to say that every other pastoral address I have seen of the Irish Catholic prelates is highly meritorious.

There is no man competent to give so good a picture of the intrigues of Friars at Rome and in Ireland as Dr. Bodkin. He was many years the agent of the majority of the secular Catholic prelates of Ireland. The Friars have ever traduced his character: the greatest offence they could discover was, that he

was poor and kept a lodging-house in Rome: in fact, he did occasionally let out his principal apartment, and so have many Princes. He is very intelligent, has a bit of the *brogue*, but I know no man, as I have said, who is so equal to give an account of the state of the Catholic clergy, secular and regular, in Ireland. It would be a most salutary regulation if Government in Ireland would have it represented to the Pope that they wish no more *regular* priests appointed to the Catholic prelacy; thinking it more for the advantage of Ireland that all the priests, whether prelates or parochial, should be secular. The Friars should be *dispossessed* as fast as possible of their cures, *allowed pensions*, but not to officiate as parish priests.

Ireland would soon find the benefit of such a regulation, nor would it be discordant to the opinions of the College of Cardinals. Another essential line of conduct would be that Government should not ever *blink*, but fairly face the whole Catholic subject, nor tacitly allow, as they do, the introduction of *Bulls*, *Briefs*, and *Rescripts*, from Rome, without availing itself of those safeguards which almost every Catholic as well as Protestant country on the Continent had wisely instituted.

I do not know precisely how your Irish Law stands, but I suppose not very wide from the English, on the Catholic subject. By the 13th of Elizabeth, "Any person who shall get from the See of Rome any Bull, Writing, or Instrument, written or printed, containing any thing, matter, or cause whatever, shall be deemed guilty of high treason." Then comes the British Act of 1791-2, tolerating the erection of chapels, schools, and the permission of the *full exercise* of the Roman Catholic Religion to all who shall take the qualified Oath of Allegiance prescribed in that Act. Yet the Act of 13 Elizabeth stands unrepealed, and is still often held out as a *bugbear* to terrify priests and others, though conformists to the Act of 1791-2. Some discreet persons contend that the Act of Elizabeth is the *only barrier* we have against the importa-

tion of Rescripts from Rome hostile to the constitution of Church and State. But do not these same discreet persons know that you cannot tolerate the exercise of the Catholic Religion without tolerating with it the introduction of Briefs and Rescripts from Rome? They are *essential* to the exercise of the Catholic Religion, and without that permission the toleration held out by the Act of 1791-2 is illusory, and even fraudulent. Catholics must have recourse to Rome in various instances, such as for the renewal every third year of the extraordinary facilities granted to their prelates for certain dispensations in cases of Matrimony within the limited degrees, and in a variety of other cases not necessary to enumerate, but which necessarily exist according to the fundamental doctrine and discipline of their Church.

Let us see rather how the Gallican Church, and even the Calvinistical Church of Holland, governed themselves in circumstances nearly similar to our own. They certainly were not less jealous of innovations, or insidious attacks from Rome, than is the most scrupulous British Protestant.

In France, before the late Revolution, every Rescript from Rome was presented within a given time to one of their courts of Parliament, and there it was examined, lest it contained any thing hostile to the privileges of the Gallican Church, or to the temporal rights of the Crown. If it did not, it received what was called *l'annexe*, or the official certificate, and was then current as a matter of mere ecclesiastical regulation. So, in Holland, even the appointment of a Catholic curé was certified by the arch-priest to the burgomaster of the district, and, if objected to, another was appointed. Here we see practicable and rational barriers opposed to the introduction of exceptionable Briefs and Rescripts, in the place of visionary guards and provisions impracticable, from their absurd and sanguinary tendency.

Another material error, or foresight, of the Act of 1791-2 is, that any Catholic priest or schoolmaster, who shall take

the prescribed oath, may demand his enrolment by the Clerk of the Sessions, as a licensed preacher or teacher, without any reference to a testimonial of character from any superior of his own persuasion, his neighbours, or magistrates.

Why not have enacted that such a priest or schoolmaster should first obtain a certificate of his character and principles, on which two magistrates, in petty session, might license him, and consequently he should be enrolled and entitled to the benefit of the Act? I have here cited one or two of many errors which the ill-judged prudery of our legislature has produced; yet Ministers themselves, in many cases, are obliged to negociate with Rome. It has happened through myself, under circumstances I need not repeat to your Lordship, and it does occur frequently. A subject of this sort, and at such a period, merits a more suitable discussion than in the pages of a hasty letter. I do think it my duty, however, to profit of the earliest moment, by thus sketching the outline of some of the most marked features.

My residence between six and seven years, at different periods, on the Continent, was mostly at Rome, the last three years of which were occupied in pursuits and under circumstances which certainly have given me greater advantages of information on Catholic questions, I may say without vanity, and of influence too, than any Protestant ever before possessed, with the Pope and his Ministers. Every *archive was open to me*, and my opinion was always adopted with respect to such measures originating with Rome as I thought conducive to the general interests of our Government, as far as they were connected with the Catholic subjects of the King, of which I conceive there are little short of five millions, including the Colonies.

It is my wish that the letter to Dr. Troy should reach him before the meeting of the College trustees; and I have hastily put together a few papers, which your Lordship is at liberty to send to Lord Castlereagh, as they are *material* in proving the dispositions of the Pope and his Ministers to be

as I have stated. What occurs hereafter I will endeavour to put into a shape more consistent with the importance of the subject. The extreme haste which the pressure of the moment occasions must be my apology for this, I fear, nearly illegible rhapsody.

I remain, my dear Lord, &c.,
J. Cox Hippisley.

PS. I perceive, in glancing over this letter, I have omitted to state that I suggested very early, in my correspondence with some of his Majesty's Ministers from Italy, that the 13th of Elizabeth should be repealed, and a new practicable barrier instituted in its place, viz., That all bulls, briefs, and rescripts from Rome should, under the penalty of præmunire, be delivered to the Secretary of State of the Home Department within a given time, and by him laid before the Privy Council, to which such Prelates should be summoned as are of the Council. If, on examination, the brief, or rescript, contains only the ordinary faculties or regulations of discipline, it should be countersigned or endorsed by the Clerk in Council, and returned to the person who presented it as containing nothing injurious to the establishment of Church and State.

Billet de Son Eminence le Cardinal de Zelada, Secrétaire d'Etât de Sainteté, à M. Hippisley.

Des Appartemens du Quirinal, 31 Août, 1793.

Le Cardinal de Zelada, Secrétaire d'Etât, n'a pas manqué de mettre sous les yeux de sa Sainteté la lettre de l'Amiral Hood, datée du Victory le 5 du courant, que M. Hippisley a bien voulu lui communiquer. Le contenu de cette lettre répond parfaitement à la grandeur et à la magnanimité de sa Majesté Britannique, à la générosité de la Nation Angloise, et à la célébrité du dit Amiral.

Le Saint Père a vu avec bien de la sensibilité et une satisfaction extrême, les sentimens avec lesquels sa Majesté vent

bien assurer l'Italie, et, par consequent, l'Etât Ecclesiastique de la protection et de l'appui de ses armes contre les entreprises de la soi-disante République Françoise. Il s'empressera de profiter d'une occasion favorable qui doit se présenter bientôt pour faire parvenir plus immédiatement à ce digne monarque et à ses respectables Ministres, les témoignages de sa très sincère reconnoissance. Mais sa Sainteté désire qu'en attendant M. Hippisley aura la bonté de les leur faire connoître d'avance par le même canal de Milord Hood, qu'il voudra bien, en même tems, remercier lui-même de la manière obligeante dont il a manifesté les dispositions de son Souverain dans la susdite lettre; et l'instruire de tout ce que le cardinal qui écrit s'étoit déjà fait un mérite de dire de vive voix à M. Hippisley, savoir—que sa Sainteté, désireuse de montrer par les faits, les sentimens qui l'animent, ne laisse pas seulement tous ses ports ouverts pour l'entrée et le séjour des vaisseaux de l'escadre Angloise, mais qu'elle se portera encore bien volontiers à ce qu'ils puissent s'approvisionner des objets que ses Etâts fournissent, et qui leur seroient nécessaires autant et de la manière que les besoins des nommés Etâts peuvent le permettre.

Si ses égards sont déjà bien justement dus comme une correspondance à la protection que sa Majesté Britannique accorde aux Etâts d'Italie dans la guerre actuelle, le Saint Père n'a pas de plus oublié les grâces et les faveurs que sa Majesté et la Nation Angloise accordent aux Catholiques d'Angleterre—faveurs pour lesquelles sa Sainteté ne peut pas que ressentir aussi une reconnoissance profonde, et qui égale l'affliction qu'elle éprouva lorsqu'elle apprit, il n'y a pas long-temps, que la basse classe des Catholiques avoit faite en Irlande quelque rassemblemens séditieux. Sa Sainteté s'empressa tout-de-suite avec ardeur de faire connoître immédiatement et de la manière qui pouvoit être la plus efficace à ces Catholiques son improbation et l'indignation que lui causoit une pareille conduite, ainsi qu'on pourra le voir par la copie ci-jointe de la

lettre écrite par la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande, aux évéques d'Irlande. Le Saint Père employera constamment tous ses soins et les mésures les plus adaptées et les plus convenables pour que les susdits Catholiques ne cessent jamais de se rendre dignes de la protection dont ils jouissent maintenant dans le royaume.

Le Cardinal qui écrit ne doit pas manquer en finissant de rendre à M. Hippisley, même au nom du Saint Père, des actions de grâces très distinguées pour la part et l'intérêt plein d'affection qu'il a pris à cette affaire, et de l'assurer, en même tems, de la haute estime qu'il lui a inspirée.

Lettre Circulaire aux Eveques d'Irlande.

Les papiers publics d'Angleterre de la semaine dernière et quelques lettres particulières ont annoncé qu'il y a eu en Irlande quelques rassemblemens séditieux faits par la basse classe des Catholiques de ce royaume. On rapporte même le discours fait en Parlement à cette occasion par Milord Portarlington ; discours rempli de plaintes contre les Catholiques à qui on reproche d'avoir mal correspondus aux grâces que les deux Chambres du Parlement leur ont accordées. Le Saint Père est persuadé, ainsi que la Sacrée Congrégation, que, même au cas que ces faits soient certains, l'accusation ne pourra porter que sur ce petit nombre de Catholiques lesquels, désobéissants à la voix de leurs pasteurs, se laissent égarer par les maximes démocratiques, qui ne sont que trop répandues dans les tems actuels par les ennemis de la religion et des Gouvernemens.

Sa Sainteté et la Sacrée Congrégation ont néanmoins voulu que j'écrirois à vôtre Seigneurie, afin que conjointement avec les autres évéques, elle manifeste hautement combien, elle improuve la conduite de ces Catholiques egarés, qu'elle les ramene à leur devoir, et les prémunisse par des salutaires avis contre les piéges qui leur tendent des hommes mal-intentionnés, dont le seul but est de détruire les bases fondamentales de la religion et du trône.

TRANSLATION.

His Eminence Cardinal de Zelada, Secretary of State of his Holiness, to Mr. Hippisley.

From the Apartments of the Quirinal, August 31, 1793.

The Cardinal de Zelada, Secretary of State, has not failed to lay before his Holiness the letter of Admiral Hood, dated on board the Victory on the 5th instant, which Mr. Hippisley has done him the favour to communicate to him. The contents of this letter are perfectly consonant with the greatness and the magnanimity of his Britannic Majesty, with the generosity of the English nation, and with the celebrity of the said Admiral.

The Holy Father has seen, with great sensibility and extreme satisfaction, the sentiments with which his Majesty is pleased to assure Italy, and, consequently, the Ecclesiastical State, of the protection and support of his arms against the enterprises of the so-called French Republic. He will eagerly avail himself of any favourable opportunity that shall soon occur for transmitting more immediately, to that worthy monarch and to his respectable ministers, testimonies of his most sincere gratitude. But his Holiness requests that, in the mean time, Mr. Hippisley will have the goodness to let them know beforehand, through the medium of Lord Hood, whom he intends, at the same time, to thank himself for the obliging manner in which he has signified the dispositions of his Sovereign in the above-mentioned letter; and to specify all that the Cardinal, who writes this, had already made a merit of saying *viva voce* to Mr. Hippisley, viz., that his Holiness, desirous of showing by deeds the sentiments which animate him, not only leaves all his ports open for the entry and the stay of the ships of the English squadron, but he will most cheerfully consent that they shall supply themselves with all such articles as his States furnish, to the extent and in the manner that the wants of the said States can permit.

If his gratitude is already most justly due in return for the protection which his Britannic Majesty grants to the States of Italy in the present war, the Holy Father has not forgotten the kindness and the favours bestowed by his Majesty and the English nation upon the Catholics of England — favours for which also his Holiness cannot but feel profound gratitude, which equals the grief that he experienced when he was informed, not long since, that the lower class of the Catholics had held some seditious meetings in Ireland. His Holiness lost no time in making

known to those Catholics immediately, and in the most efficacious manner, his reprobation, and the indignation excited in him by such conduct, as may be seen by the annexed copy of the letter addressed by the Sacred College of the Propaganda to the Bishops of Ireland. The Holy Father will continually employ all his efforts and the measures best adapted and most suitable for teaching the said Catholics that they should never cease to render themselves worthy of the protection which they now enjoy in the kingdom.

The Cardinal who writes this must not omit, in concluding, to express to Mr. Hippisley, even in the name of the Holy Father himself, his warmest thanks for the part and the interest full of affection which he has taken in this affair, and to assure him, at the same time, of the high esteem with which he has inspired him.

Circular Letter to the Bishops of Ireland.

The public papers of England of last week and some private letters have stated that there have been several seditious assemblages in Ireland, composed of the lower class of the Catholics of that kingdom. There is also a report of a speech delivered in Parliament by Lord Portarlington — a speech full of complaints of the Catholics, who are reproached with having ill repaid the favours bestowed upon them by the two Houses of Parliament. The Holy Father is persuaded, as well as the Sacred Congregation, that even in case these facts are certain, the accusation can apply only to that small number of the Catholics who, disobeying the voice of their pastors, suffer themselves to be led astray by the democratic maxims, which are but too widely spread at the present time by the enemies of religion and of governments.

His Holiness and the Sacred Congregation have, nevertheless, desired me to write to your Lordship, in order that, conjointly with the other bishops, you may signify emphatically how much you condemn the conduct of those misled Catholics, that you may bring them back to their duty, and warn them, by wholesome advice, against the snares laid for them by evil-designing men, whose only aim is to destroy the fundamental bases of religion and of the throne.

Extract of a Letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State to Lord Grenville.

September, 1793.

Le dit Prélat est chargé aussi de remercier sa Majesté pour la déclaration très obligeante adressée au Saint Père, de la part

de l'Amiral Milord Hood, par M. Hippisley, un des membres du Parlement Brittannique, qui à présent se trouve dans cette capitale. Il veut encore qu'on prie sa Majesté a continuer d'employer sa puissante protection en tout ce qui peut regarder le bien des Catholiques et l'intérêt du Saint Siége. Vous ne devez pas ignorer, et même encore vous en serez instruit par le même Prélat, combien sa Sainteté se soit impressée de seconder les instances qu'on lui a faites pour garnir la flotte Angloise d'une portion des vivres, et combien des ordres pressés elle ait envoyée, dès que le dit M. Hippisley, par un zèle et un empressement patriotique, qui lui fait beaucoup d'honneur, fit parvenir à sa Sainteté la nouvelle bien désagréable des troubles arrivés des évènements dans le royaume de l'Irlande, auxquels on disoit que quelquesuns d'entre les Catholiques du bas peuple, après avoir été séduits par les auteurs des toutes les présents troubles de l'Europe, avoient eu de part, contre ce que nôtre Sainte Religion enseigne, et contre l'exemple de tous les bons Catholiques, qui sont si recommandables par leur fidélité.

Les marques de correspondances et d'amitié mutuelle, desquelles le Saint Père ne s'éloignera pas dans tout ce que lui sera possible, nous assurent à l'égard de sa Majesté, de vôtre Excellence, et des autres ministres, et énfin des respectables membres du Parlement, la continuation des faveurs réciproques pour le bien et l'avantage de l'une et l'autre cour et nation.

TRANSLATION.

The said Prelate is also charged to thank his Majesty for the most obliging declaration addressed to the Holy Father, on the part of Admiral Lord Hood, through Mr. Hippisley, one of the members of the British Parliament, who is at present in this capital. He also desires him to beseech his Majesty to continue to afford his powerful protection in everything that can concern the welfare of the Catholics and the interest of the Holy See. You cannot be ignorant—indeed, you will be informed by the same Prelate—how solicitous his Holiness is to second the applications made to him to furnish the English fleet with a supply

of provisions, and how many pressing orders he sent, as soon as the said Mr. Hippisley, with a patriotic zeal and ardour which do him great honour, transmitted to his Holiness the very disagreeable news of the disturbances arising from occurrences in the kingdom of Ireland, in which it was said that some of the Catholics of the lowest class, having been seduced by the authors of all the present troubles of Europe, had taken part, contrary to what our Holy Religion teaches, and contrary to the example of all good Catholics who are distinguished for their loyalty.

The tokens of mutual good understanding and friendship, from which the Holy Father will never swerve in whatever shall be in his power, ensure to us, on behalf of his Majesty, of your Excellency, and of the other ministers, and lastly, of the respectable members of Parliament, a continuance of reciprocal favours, for the welfare and advantage of both courts and nations.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Whitehall, October 29, 1793.

I think it my duty to take this opportunity of returning you my thanks for the exertions made by you in the public service. The motives which induced you to act in the manner you did cannot be mistaken ; and the consequences of the steps taken by you on this important occasion will, I am persuaded, be of material advantage to his Majesty's service.

Copy of a Letter from the Cardinal, Secretary of State, to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Des Appartements du Vatican, 31 Mars, 1794.

Il y a déjà plusieurs mois que le Cardinal de Zelada, Secrétaire d'Etât, fit remettre au très respectable M. Hippisley une note de toutes les espèces de provision dont sa Sainteté avoit permis et favorisé la sortie de ses étâts, pour fournir à l'approvisionnement des escadres Anglois-Espagnols. De pareilles permissions ayant été depuis accordées de nouveau, il croit également convenable de lui en donner connoissance, ainsi qu'il le fait par la feuille ci-jointe. Le désir que l'on a que M. Hippisley se charge du soin obligeant d'en instruire l'Amiral Hood

et le Ministère Britannique est inspiré par deux motifs. Le premier est celui de pouvoir convaincre toujours plus sa Majesté Britannique et toute cette illustre nation du grand empressement avec lequel le Saint Père se prête à tout ce qu'on lui démande pour l'avantage et les heureux succès des armées combinées, et particulièrement de l'armée Angloise. Le second est relatif à des soupçons qu'on a conçus avec quelque fondement, non sur les Commissaires Anglois eux-mêmes, de l'honnèteté et probité desquels on ne doute point, mais sur les agents employés par eux, y ayant bien de craindre que ceux-ci ne tournent à leur profit et ne fassent un commerce particulier de tous le objets qu'on leur accorde, en les destinant à autre chose qu'à fournir aux besoins des dites armées.

Si M. Hippisley veut donc bien faire parvenir comme on le prie instamment, à l'Amiral Hood et au Ministère Britannique cette Seconde Note (ainsi qu'il nous a assuré avoir eu la bonté de faire de la première) la Cour de Rome n'aura plus rien à désirer pour être pleinement tranquille, et sera ainsi à l'abri des fraudes qui pourroient se commettre contre la pureté et la loyauté de ses intentions.

Il seroit également convenable que M. Hippisley donnat connoissance au même Amiral et aux Ministres de tout ce qui a été fait par nous en faveur de la partie de Cavalerie Angloise qui débarqua dernièrement à Civita Vecchia. Elle consistoit en deux cent quarante-quatre personnes et deux cent quarante chevaux. Elle arriva dans ce port avec son convoi dans le plus mauvais état, occasionné tant par ce qu'elle avoit souffert des fatigues d'une longue navigation que pour n'avoir pas trouvée ailleurs, et notamment en Toscane, le repos et l'asile qu'elle y avoit demandé. A-peine eut on prié sa Sainteté de permettre qu'elle débarqua à Civita Vecchia qu'elle s'empressa de lui en donner le pouvoir, et le Saint Père eut la douce consolation de connoître le bon effet qu'avoit produit cette condescendance amicale, par les lettres qu'il reçut dès ces premiers moments, de la part du prélat Gouverneur de cette ville. "Tous

les Officiers Anglois," lui mandoit-il, "se montrent on ne peut pas plus sensibles à la faveur que leur a faite sa Sainteté en leur permettant le débarquement. Ils ne cessent d'en témoigner dans toutes les occasions envers elle la plus vive reconnoissance, et ils avouent que, s'ils avoient tenu la mer un mois de plus, cette cavalerie eut été entièrement perdue."

Après avoir permis à ces troupes de débarquer et de rester à Civita Vecchia, les ordres les plus pressés furent donnés aux Ministres du Saint Père pour la fourniture des fourrages nécessaires, et pour procurer dans le nombre des vivres qui sont dans le pays celles que les officiers désireroient et jugeroient plus commodes. On porta même à cet égard l'attention jusqu'à déplacer un détachement de nôtre cavalerie, afin de pouvoir céder a celle des Anglois les écuries que celle-ci occupoit. On demanda encore la permission de faire débarquer une partie du convoi, c'est-à-dire les femmes et les familles des dragons, et elle leur fût également accordée. On donna à tous un logement convenable, et Messieurs les Officiers ayant temoigné le désir de pouvoir être logés tous ensemble dans la maison appartenante au commandant de la place, elle leur fût cedée sur-le-champ.

On se donna toutes les sollicitudes possibles pour que les soldats et tous ceux du convoi trouvassent abondamment et à des prix modérés toutes les subsistances qu'ils pourroient désirer quand le pays pourroit les fournir; et il est de fait qu'ils les payoient à Civita Vecchia la moitié moins qu'ils ne les ont payées ailleurs.

Quatre dragons ayant déserté, on n'a rien oublié pour les retrouver, et l'on en a déjà arreté trois, qui ont été conduits à leur régiment, sous la promesse qu'ils auront la vie sauvée. Du reste, le Saint Père a fait recommander d'une manière très expresse à ses ministres de n'épargner ni honnêtetés, ni prévenances, ni attentions, envers ses hôtes, et M. Hippisley aura été probablement plus particulièrement instruit de tout ce qu'on a fait pour eux par ceux des officiers qui étoient ces jours

35235

derniers à Rome ; et il pourra, par conséquent, en donner lui-même au Ministère Britannique et à l'Amiral, avec bonne foi et vérité, un détail plus étendu que ne croit devoir le faire ici le Cardinal de Zelada, de peur que ce qu'il en diroit ne put paroître exagéré. Et, toujours pénétré de l'estime la plus distinguée, il se déclare, &c.

TRANSLATION.

From the Apartments of the Vatican, March 31, 1794.

It is now several months since the Cardinal de Zelada, Secretary of State, transmitted to the most respectable Mr. Hippisley a note of all the sorts of provisions, the export of which from his territories his Holiness had permitted and favoured for the supply of the Anglo-Spanish squadrons. The like permissions having since been granted anew, it is equally proper to apprize him of them, as he does by the annexed paper. The desire which is felt that Mr. Hippisley should be so obliging as to take upon himself the trouble to inform Admiral Hood and the British administration of the circumstance arises from two motives. The first is, that of being able to convince more and more his Britannic Majesty and that whole illustrious nation of the great cordiality with which the Holy Father complies with all the applications that are made to him for the benefit and success of the combined armies, and particularly of the English army. The second proceeds from the suspicions which have been conceived with some foundation, not of the English commissaries themselves, but of the agents employed by them ; as there is reason to fear that these turn to their own profit, and drive a private trade with all the articles which are granted to them, diverting them to a different purpose from the supply of the wants of the said armies.

If Mr. Hippisley will therefore be pleased to transmit, as he is earnestly requested to do, to Admiral Hood, and to the British Ministry, this second note (as he has had the goodness to assure us he did by the first), the court of Rome will have nothing more to desire, in order to make itself perfectly easy, and to be thus protected from the frauds which might be committed, contrary to the purity and the uprightness of its intentions.

It is likewise desirable that Mr. Hippisley should communicate to the same Admiral Hood and the Ministers all that has been done in favour of a party of English Cavalry, that lately landed at Civita Vecchia.

It consisted of two hundred and forty-four persons and two hundred and forty horses. It arrived in that port with its convoy, in the worst condition, occasioned as well by what it had suffered from the fatigues of a long voyage, as from not having found elsewhere, particularly in Tuscany, the asylum and rest which it had solicited there. No sooner was his Holiness requested to permit it to land at Civita Vecchia, than he most cheerfully granted that permission; and the Holy Father had the soothing consolation to learn the good effect produced by this friendly condescension, by the letters which he received, ever since the first moment, from the Prelate who is governor of that town. "All the English officers," he wrote, "manifest the deepest sense of the favour which has been done them by his Holiness in permitting the landing. They never cease expressing, on all occasions, the warmest gratitude to him for it, and they acknowledge that, if they had been kept at sea for a month longer, this cavalry would have been utterly ruined."

After the troops had been permitted to land and to remain at Civita Vecchia, the most urgent orders were given to the ministers of the Holy Father for supplying them with the necessary forage, and with such of the provisions of the country as the officers should desire and judge most suitable. To such a length were attentions of this kind carried, as to displace a detachment of our cavalry, in order to give up to the English the stables which it had occupied. Permission was further solicited for landing part of the convoy, that is to say, the wives and families of the dragoons; and it was likewise granted. Suitable lodgings were assigned to all, and, the officers having expressed a wish to be lodged all together in the house belonging to the commandant of the place, it was immediately given up to them.

The utmost anxiety was shown that the soldiers and all belonging to the convoy should obtain abundantly, and at moderate prices, all the articles of consumption which they could desire, if the country could furnish them; and it is a fact that at Civita Vecchia they cost them less by half than they had paid for them elsewhere.

Four dragoons having deserted, no pains were spared to find them again: three are already secured and taken to their regiment upon a promise that their lives shall be safe. For the rest, the Holy Father has caused it to be recommended in a most express manner to all his ministers not to spare either civilities, or services, or attentions, towards his guests. Mr. Hippisley will probably have been more particularly informed of all that has been done for them, by such of the officers as were in these last days at Rome; and he will in consequence be able to give

the British ministry and the Admiral a faithful, true, and more detailed account than Cardinal Zelada thinks it right to do here, for fear that it might appear exaggerated. And, filled with the most cordial esteem, he declares himself, &c.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Hobart.

Curzon Street, February 10, 1799.

My dear Lord—I am extremely flattered to be informed by your Lordship, that Lord Castlereagh is so much satisfied with my communications on the Catholic subject of Ireland. Though the proceedings connected with the proposed Union are, for the present, suspended, there are some measures which I think your Lordship will be of opinion are not of less urgency; indeed, their expediency is the more strongly indicated, in proportion as we consider the Catholics more exposed to seduction.

A difference of opinion on the Catholic subject is not confined to the uninformed part of the public on this side of the water. We not long since heard, at your Lordship's table, a distinguished Metropolitan Prelate assert, "That the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland possess almost unlimited influence on the minds of the people, and that the Priests themselves are in great subjection to their Prelates." We heard, also, persons who had filled the highest stations in that kingdom express opinions of a very different tendency. Many consider the Insurrection to be wholly unconnected with religious opinions; others maintain the reverse; and, in support of the latter position, the late accounts from the County of Clare are referred to, which inform us, "that the insurgents of that County are wholly Catholics and headed by their Priests."

I state these assertions as opposed to an opinion I heard maintained also in your Lordship's presence, "that the Catholic question was of so little importance, that the projected Union of the two kingdoms should be treated as wholly independent of it." To my humble apprehension, it is not possible, consistently and decorously, to discuss that question without

investigating the religious as well as political state of more than three millions, composing the great majority of the inhabitants of an independent kingdom, who are contradistinguished by laws of high disqualification, and which exclude them from the most valued franchises open to the minority of their fellow-subjects.

But it seems evident, from what has occurred in the debates of the British Parliament, that the King's Ministers themselves are fully aware of the justice and importance of gradually conceding to the Catholics such farther privileges as may not militate with the spirit of our Constitution. I have not as yet heard any adequate measures proposed of guarding against every possible inroad, and giving complete security to our Establishment in Church and State; yet I am persuaded it is not difficult for those who are acquainted with the usages of the See of Rome, and the different bearings of Catholic discipline, to devise a practicable and inoffensive system, that will effectually embrace the just object of Government.

To effect this desirable end, we must divest ourselves of many prejudices, fairly facing (as I before observed) the whole subject, and tracing the disorders and mischiefs connected with it to their true sources. That Catholic Priests, in many instances, have been the promoters of sedition, I can well imagine; but let us not infer from thence that the See of Rome is the natural fountain of rebellion. Let us, in candour, recollect that Mr. Horne Tooke is himself a Priest of the Church of England, and educated in a British university.

There are expedients, my Lord, of easy adoption, and, as I conceive, of pressing exigency, which would necessarily produce much useful information on the Catholic subject, and ought to precede the enacting of any Parliamentary regulation, whether of extension or restriction. These expedients (which I shall beg presently to suggest) will be strictly justified by an authority that the Catholics themselves cannot question, and the present state of too great a proportion of their Clergy in Ireland urges the propriety of adopting them.

The authority I shall cite is an extract of a Memorial, drawn up by the Prelate who was Secretary of the College of Propaganda Fide, by order of Innocent XI., anno 1677. This college, which consists of a great number of Cardinals and other Prelates, has the superintendence of the Catholic Clergy of the British dominions and all foreign missions. Having ready access to the records of that college, when last in Rome, I made several extracts from this Memorial, and I shall annex to this letter what applies to my present purpose.

If the Monks and Friars employed on missions were so disorderly as Monsignor Cerri represents them to have been, at a period when the See of Rome may be supposed to have held stronger checks on her Clergy, there is very little reason to believe that they will universally conduct themselves with more decorum in the present age. It has long been the persuasion of the See of Rome, that the regular (or monastic) Clergy, though often employed in mission, are less fitted than the secular for the charge of Parish Priests, and my former letter to your Lordship expresses the sentiments of the Cardinal Prefect of the College of Propaganda on this subject.

Your Lordship has probably been informed that, on the vacancy of a Catholic See, the Chapter of the particular diocese elects a Vicar Capitular to govern the diocese, per interim, and, having also the right of postulation, recommends three names to the Pope. The Congregation of Propaganda, to which the Pope refers the nomination, is generally governed by the recommendation of the National Prelates, and Dr. Troy (who, I have before mentioned, is a Dominican Friar) having an entire influence on the Catholic Primate (Dr. Reilly, of Armagh) has, in effect, a great control in the nomination to the vacant dioceses in Ireland. The Deans are also appointed by the Pope, on the recommendation of the Prelates, and the Papal Bull is expedited from Rome for that purpose.

In my last letter, I mentioned that Mr. Fallon, a Dominican, agent to Dr. Troy, expressed his hopes that, at some future period, Father Concanen might be appointed to a Bishopric

in Ireland. I then perceived that Mr. Fallon wished to draw from me a eulogy of his friend, with whom I had much communication at Rome. Mr. Fallon must have then known that Father Concanen had been actually appointed to the Catholic See of Kilmacduagh, on the translation of Dr. Edward Dillon to Tuam. This appointment adds another Friar to those I before mentioned in the list of the present Catholic Bishops of Ireland, viz., three Dominicans and one Franciscan; and here let me add, that the disunion between the Secular and Regular Clergy, even in Rome, is surpassed only by the squabbles and animosity existing between the several subdivisions of orders among the Monks and Friars themselves.

On this appointment of Father Concanen to the vacant Catholic See, I trust your Lordship will agree with me in thinking that some discreet resident secular Priest might have been found, of local weight and reputation with his own communion, who, by the additional influence of the Episcopacy, might have rendered essential services in his district in these tumultuous times. Such a person ought to have been recommended, in preference to a Friar whose residence has been the greater part of his life in the Dominican Convent at Rome—not even a member of the confraternity of the Irish Dominicans (who have their appropriate seminary), but of a Roman Convent, and Secretary to the Spanish General of the Order. I hesitate not to say that this is, at least, under all its circumstances, an indiscreet nomination, and must give reasonable offence to the resident Secular Clergy of the diocese. It should be the care of Government that such nominations are not repeated. Father Concanen is a very smooth but wily Friar; and, in the long contention I had with the Cardinal Protector of the Irish College at Rome (who opposed the reform I afterwards obtained in the appointment of National Superiors of the British and Irish Seminaries in Rome), I found the views of the Cardinal had more influence with the Friar than the interests of his country.

Much credit is certainly due to Dr. Troy, on account of many of his encyclical letters, and I represented his conduct in this view to the Pope when I was at Rome, which procured him the handsome compliment, of which he expresses his acknowledgments in the letter your Lordship has seen; yet, the circumstance of his being a Dominican Friar, and the chief organ of communication with the King's Ministers in Ireland, must always produce some jealousy in the minds of the Secular Prelates. Of this fact I have had much evidence, in their correspondence with their secular agent in Rome. Dr. Troy's residence in the capital gives him many advantages, and particularly a greater facility of communication with Government; but he has fewer Suffragans than any other metropolitan. Armagh has nine; Tuam five, exclusive of the Warden of Galway; Cashel eight, and Dublin only four, Suffragans.

Had Father Concanen been recommended for the vacant prelacy before the Congregation of the College of Propaganda was driven from Rome, I am persuaded his name would have been passed over, consistently with the assurance I had received from Cardinal Antonelli (which I before noted), and a Secular Priest, if any had stood on the list, been appointed.

The distinction between the Secular and Regular clergy your Lordship will probably recollect to be, that the latter are professed, under strict vows of obedience, to the rules of their order, and to their generals, and subdivided into the different communities of Benedictines, Augustines, Carthusians, Franciscans, &c., and these again are contradistinguished as monks and friars; the monks being supported by permanent funds attached to their convents, and the friars chiefly mendicant, and living by "quest," in fact, begging, through the medium of their lay brothers, and having no appropriate funds, except the institution of particular masses, which are established in their respective churches. The Franciscan is beyond comparison the most numerous mendicant order, and has also its

subordinate divisions of Recollects, Capuchins, &c. The Dominicans, since the extinction of the Jesuits, are the most intriguing of the existing orders, and, though allowed to possess funds, as the other orders of monks, are also Mendicant. The Inquisition, in every country where it exists, is under their exclusive direction, except at Rome, where it is merely nominal, and under a congregation of Cardinals.

I apprehend it is scarcely necessary to inform your Lordship, that the regular or monastic clergy are employed as parochial priests or curates in great abundance in Ireland, and the orders existing there are Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustines, Carmelites of two kinds, and Capuchins (which last are also of the reformed of St. Francis). The two former orders are by much the most numerous in Ireland. I shall not attempt to appreciate their relative merits or demerits, as contrasted with the secular clergy, nor is it candid to condemn so great a body of men in mass, but I contend that it is extremely important at this crisis especially, that Government should be acquainted with the detail of their avocations. The accompanying extract of Monsignor Cerri's memorial will bear me out in that opinion.

Translation of an Extract from the Memorial of Monsignor Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide at Rome, which is entrusted with the Government of the Roman Catholic Establishments and Missions in the British Dominions, &c. (*The Memorial was drawn up by order of Pope Innocent XI. Anno* 1677.)

"Ireland contains a great number of Catholics, who, notwithstanding all the persecutions they have undergone, have ever remained unshaken in their faith, so that the Congregation has again established bishops there. The island is divided into four archbishoprics; those of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, which form in all, with their suffragans, twenty-six churches, some of which have bishops, and others vicars, each

having his clergy, and the means, though scanty, of subsisting them. The number of bishops amounts to no more than fifteen, eight of which only are resident, the rest being either banished, or absent from other causes. As they are generally at variance amongst themselves, and involved in discord, this sometimes gives rise to persecutions against the Catholics, and is injurious to the cause of religion.

"The conduct of the regular clergy, and particularly of the Franciscans, who have a great number of convents in this island, is likewise highly reprehensible. They by no means conform to the rules of their institution, and they abuse their privileges by celebrating more masses than are necessary even on appointed days, arrogating to themselves unreasonable authority, receiving money for the sacraments, and administering them at Easter, contrary to the wish of the parochial clergy, and withdrawing themselves entirely from the jurisdiction of the bishops of their diocese; so that, from these and other causes, it is advisable to put in execution the contents of the Bull ordered by the Congregation to remedy the confusion and disorder which the Regulars every where occasion, by the unreasonable exercise of their privileges. And though the Congregation has committed the superintendence of this kingdom to the internuncio of Flanders, it still appears necessary that an able and well informed apostolic visitor should be sent thither, who might give an account of the real state of religion, and might serve, at the same time, for the three kingdoms of Great Britain.

"It is true likewise that, in all places where there are still some remains of Catholicism, bishops neither can nor ought to be sent, so that it is necessary to furnish the assistance wanted there, by means of simple missionaries, and there is no doubt but the Secular priests would succeed best in such an office, being animated by no other zeal than that of leading a more austere life, and one more exposed to danger than that which they led in their own country; whereas, the Regulars

go willingly on missions, that they may live more free from control, and shake off the burden of obedience. However, the Congregation generally makes use of the Regulars, because they are more numerous, and because it imagines them proper persons for such an employ, when they come recommended by their Superior, whose expectations, however, are frequently disappointed; whereas the Seculars have none to recommend them, and little attention is paid to their own individual tender of service.

"There are two of the above-mentioned missions of Regulars, some of the members composing which depend immediately on the Congregation, receiving from it their powers, instructions, and even their warrants; others who carry with them the privileges of their monasteries, and are little or nothing dependent on the Congregation, receive orders from their Generals. If the former of these deviate from the direct line of their duty, they are superseded and even punished by the Congregation; but the second, who are nearly independent of it, live as they think proper, oppose and thwart the other missionaries, and, instead of acting like apostolical men, are a disgrace to the Christian profession."

In sketching the outlines of those measures which I conceive to be of so much eventual utility, I conclude that no difficulty exists with the Government of Ireland in holding direct and official communication with the Roman Catholic prelates of that kingdom. They have been repeatedly recognised by Government. Mr. Secretary Hamilton (June 13, 1794), writes to Dr. Troy, "that, by command of the Lord-Lieutenant, he informs him that Mr. Secretary Dundas has laid before the King the address of the prelates of the Roman Catholic communion of Ireland, and that his Majesty was pleased to receive the same in the most gracious manner."

The preliminary regulations I should beg to submit to the consideration of Government are these:

1. That the communication of the Catholic prelates of Ire-

land with Government, when any specific measures are proposed, should be in writing, and that this resolution of Government should be signified to each Catholic metropolitan prelate, who should inform their respective suffragans thereof.

2. That Government should signify to each Catholic metropolitan that, understanding, upon any vacancy in the Catholic prelacy of Ireland, that it was the practice for the Catholic prelates to transmit a list of names to their spiritual chief, in order that some one should be selected from that list to fill such vacancy, it was the opinion of Government that such lists should in future contain the names of Secular clergy only; that no doubt was entertained of the principles or attachment of the Catholic Regular clergy to his Majesty's Government (of which Dr. Troy himself had given such eminent proof in his own person and writings), but that Government considered it more consistent with future arrangements that the Catholic prelacy should have no distinctions amongst their own body of Secular and Regular.[1]

3. That all lists of persons recommended for vacant Catholic bishoprics or deaneries, before they are transmitted to the spiritual head of their religion, should be communicated to Government, with a reference to the charge and residence of each person recommended.[2]

4. That Government should intimate to the Catholic metropolitans that it was their desire that, when the subordinate offices of the Roman Catholic communion became vacant, such as deans, vicars-general, &c., &c., and the parochial charges of

[1] It is not for Government to invite controversy by assigning specific reasons for this regulation, but both the principles and practice of the See of Rome will fully justify the adoption, as the monastic clergy are never appointed to the prelacy in any State where the Catholic religion is established, but under very particular circumstances (*speciali gratia*).

[2] By the "concordat" between Francis I. and Pope Leo X., the King secured to the Crown the privilege which Rome had arrogated to itself of naming to all vacant bishoprics, leaving the formulary of collation only to Rome.

priest or curate, they should be filled by the Secular clergy, if any unappointed and of correct morals offered in the district.

5. That the metropolitan Catholic clergy should, with all possible expedition, make returns of the suffragan prelates and clergy within their respective provinces, distinguishing their rank and destination, and Seculars from Regulars; also noting to what order or community each Regular belongs, the length of time each person has officiated in their respective charge, and at what place educated.

6. A return to be made of the number of convents, and where situated, the number of men or women in each, and, if priests, how employed, the names of their Superiors, and where educated, and of those engaged as confessors in each community.

7. To require the number and situation of the Catholic schools and schoolmasters, and, if clergy, whether Secular or Regular, and of what order. The number of communicants might also be demanded, with the supposed number of non-communicants, in each district or parish, and a general estimate of the whole Catholic population.

All these accounts to be verified by the signature of the suffragan prelate of each Catholic diocese, and to be returned through their respective metropolitans to the public secretary of the Government, under whom, perhaps, an additional clerk might be usefully employed in the correspondence with the metropolitan and suffragan Catholic prelates, in digesting the returns, &c., received from them, and in collecting and classing all information on the Catholic subject exclusively.

In the present disturbed state of Ireland, I am aware of the difficulty of obtaining immediate correct returns; but that plea should not be admitted so far as to procrastinate the measure. The unfortunate state of the country is a great motive for the inquiry; and the suffragan prelates should be enjoined to report weekly from their districts till their returns are complete, and afterwards once in three or six months. I need not

anticipate the result of these measures, but I am much deceived if they do not prove highly beneficial to the State, and facilitating future arrangements of great moment. The suffragans should be encouraged to attend the general meetings of the prelates in Dublin, and a decent travelling allowance made to them by Government. Some of them are very able men, but have been kept in obscurity by the very partial communications of Government with their order. It may hereafter become a matter of consideration whether, in addition to the regulation suggested in my former letter, for the examination of all rescripts, &c., from the See of Rome, some precautionary measure of the same tendency should not be adopted with respect to mandates from the Generals of the several monastic communities of Regular clergy, whether addressed to those communities in the aggregate, or to the individual monks and friars; such mandates always exacting implicit obedience from the professed, and the Generals of the orders residing in foreign States. The extract of Monsignor Cerri's memorial is a sufficient comment on the effects of this vow of obedience of the monastic clergy to their Generals, and the great embarrassments occasioned therefrom even to the See of Rome itself.

In a cursory view of the Irish and Scotch statute books, I find no Act in provision similar to that I before cited of the 13th Elizabeth, ch. 2. The extreme severity of that law, as I then observed, defeated itself (as unnecessary rigour ever does), and the consequence is, that we are in England more exposed to the inroad of mischievous Rescripts and innovations from the See of Rome, whenever it is ill disposed to our Government, than if that law had never been enacted, as humanity revolts from its execution.

In England, therefore, it principally operates against the Government itself; and I shall hereafter demonstrate the incidental embarrassment created by the doubts which were entertained upon the construction of that Act, in the face of which, while an humble individual scrupled not to risk his own respon-

sibility, Ministers were constrained to struggle between the imperious necessity of the case and the constructive prohibition of the law. I will only refer to Lord Castlemain's defence in the State Trials, 1 William, 3, as a useful comment in anticipation of the proceedings of our Government with respect to Rome, from the year 1793 to the downfall of its civil Government.

In Scotland and Ireland no such stumblingblock appears to have existed; and in England, with respect to those Catholic Priests who submit to the test prescribed by the Act of 1791-2, I conceive the penalties of that statute of Elizabeth to be virtually abrogated, "as no such person can be prosecuted for being a Priest, or for performing or observing any rite, practice, &c., of the Romish Religion." To this description of persons, therefore, namely, Priests in the daily exercise of their functions, and schoolmasters charged with education of youth, in other respects unknown, and by the same law requiring no testimonial of good conduct, this formidable Act is innoxious, and the dreaded Bulls and Rescripts from Rome may be imported as an essential practice of the discipline of their Church.

The first recited Act, which is repealed by the statute of 1791-2, is the 1st of Elizabeth, c. 13. A leap is then made to the 23d Elizabeth, slurring over this highly penal statute of the 13th of the same reign. By that Act, "the receiving any writing or instrument, written or printed, from the Pope or See of Rome, containing any thing, matter, or cause whatsoever," is made high treason. And "the importation of beads, crosses, &c., and offering them to be worn or used by any person" (which many a good Protestant has been in the practice of doing, in courtesy to their Catholic friends), subject the unwary traveller to all the severe penalties of the statute of Præmunire.

In my address to your Lordship of the 12th ult., I suggested the sound policy of a regulation founded on the practice of the

Courts of France for the security of the temporal rights of the Crown, and the privileges of the Gallican Church. These privileges depended on two maxims: that the Pope had no authority to order any thing in general or particular, in which the civil rights of the kingdom were concerned; and, secondly, that, notwithstanding the Pope's supremacy was acknowledged in cases purely spiritual, yet, in other respects, his power was limited by the decrees of the ancient councils of the realm.

In 1482, the Superior Council of Provence enacted that no letters coming from foreign jurisdictions, though only in spirituals, should be executed without the ratification and registry of the Court; and this practice was universally adopted by the Supreme Courts throughout the kingdom. By rescinding the statute of the 13th Elizabeth, and establishing a regulation in these kingdoms upon this principle (conformable not only to the practice of the jealous Gallican Church, but, as I before observed, to that also in the Calvinist States of the United Provinces, &c.), Government would thereby obtain a check upon all Rescripts and correspondence with the See of Rome, connected with his Majesty's dominions, by means fully commensurate to the object, and in all political and commercial concerns, (should the temporal Government of the See of Rome be re-established) his Majesty's Ministers would thereby acquire the same unquestionable facility of official communication with the Sovereign and Ministers of Rome as with other States. I say unquestionable, as the Act of 13th Elizabeth was certainly held to be of doubtful construction in this respect; and I am warranted in saying, also, that it was raised up *in terrorem* by persons of great rank and weight at home, as an obstacle to avowed correspondence with the See of Rome, at one of the most critical moments of the present war, when the Sovereign Pontiff alone possessed the means of efficaciously administering to the necessities of our fleet and army in the Mediterranean. I need not repeat to

your Lordship in what manner those means were nevertheless made so highly productive.

And to what miserable shifts have we since been driven! Independently of the multiplied negociations with the See of Rome on the subject of Corsica (which passed through my own hands during my residence at Rome, and to which the faith of the British Government was pledged), [by his Majesty's Commissioner Plenipotentiary in the Mediterranean] Ministry at home have been constrained obliquely to negociate with the Pope on the subject of the proposed appointment of a Bishop in the West Indies; and your Lordship knows we are on the eve of a similar negociation on the Ecclesiastical concerns of the Island of Minorca. Other Protestant States have maintained a more consistent conduct in this respect. Russia, Prussia, Sweden, &c., had their resident Ministers or Consuls-General at Rome, both for the convenience of their Catholic subjects and the general interests of their respective States. From the want of a British representation, or direct agency, in the Ecclesiastical territories, I have myself witnessed the greatest inconveniences, and often great injuries to our commerce on the Adriatic coast, especially as, I am warranted to say, will be proved by the official correspondence of our last resident Minister at Venice.

With respect to a State provision for the Prelates and officiating Catholic Clergy of both kingdoms, I believe at this hour there will be little difference of opinion; and an adequate allowance, at the same time, should be made to the regulars, though excluded from the functions of Parish Priests. Such a provision is highly decorous and consistent with sound policy; it may have recommendations even with those who are ever apprehensive of the spirit of proselytism that actuates the Roman Clergy. Dr. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," observes, that "The teachers of new religions have a considerable advantage in attacking the ancient established systems of which the Clergy, reposing themselves upon their

benefices, neglect to keep up the fervour of devotion in the great body of the people." The independent provision in many places, which has been made for Dissenting teachers, seems very much to have abated the zeal and activity of those teachers. "In the Church of Rome," he continues, "the Mendicant orders derive their whole subsistence from the voluntary oblations of the people; it is with them as with the Hussars of some armies—no plunder no pay. They are obliged, therefore, to use every art which can animate the devotion of the people."

"The establishment of the two great Mendicant Orders" (of St. Dominic and St. Francis), Machiavel observes, "revived the languishing devotion of the Catholic Church." The whole of this chapter of Adam Smith is so much in point, that I beg to refer your Lordship to it; it will be found in his fifth book, under the head of "Institutions for the Instruction of the People."

Having much exceeded the limits of a letter, I will, for the present, adjourn, though, with your Lordship's permission, not wholly dismiss, the discussion of a subject at this hour involving so many serious considerations. I pledge myself to advance nothing but what is the result of much sober reflection and experience, under great local advantages. Every assertion shall be substantiated by the most irrefragable authorities; and I flatter myself that I can open such sources of information as will present a view of this question very strikingly different from what it has ever yet appeared in to the Government or the Legislature. Your Lordship will thence perceive into what errors, inconsistencies, and serious political embarrassment, we have been precipitated, from the want of adequate unprejudiced evidence, and from the very partial consideration this wide and important subject has hitherto received, since the period of the Reformation. Had I remained in Parliament, I certainly should have thought it my duty to have brought forward an investigation suited to the occasion; and possibly it will not

be long before I may regain that advantage. I should certainly have moved the repeal of the 13th Elizabeth, and to enact in its place a practicable regulation of the nature I before sketched.

Embarrassed as this subject may appear to those who have viewed it only superficially or obscurely through the mist of the prejudices of more than two centuries of alienation from a direct intercourse with Rome, I am persuaded that our Legislature can now liberally and safely tread the middle path, "rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's" in the true spirit of the injunction; but it is incumbent on us deliberately and correctly to appreciate what we are in justice to grant, and what in prudence to restrain.

Such an investigation, and the consequent projected arrangements, should, in my humble opinion, be the early care of Government, whether the question of the Union sleeps or be re-agitated. It has been recently said in Parliament (Mr. Canning's Speech, 22d January), "If the Union with Ireland does not take place, it may be necessary to refortify the Protestant ascendency, by reviving the old penal code against Catholics. God forbid! On a sober, impartial view of the subject, I am convinced that no such sanguinary measures are indicated. If "refortify" we must, let us atone for the errors of our ancestors, by substituting outworks which may constitute a solid, effectual defence, nor longer expose the venerable walls of our Constitution to be sapped and undermined, while we fallaciously estimate our security from their imaginary inaccessibility. The lofty bastions and idly menacing batteries projected by the State Engineers of Elizabeth are ill adapted to the tactics of later times; to command the greater range, they improvidently took their level too high, but the error is not without example; the statesman, as well as the tactician, has often overshot his mark.

If, my Lord, I am tempted to conclude this serious comment with a less serious metaphor, it is obviously pressed on

me by the text. Should your Lordship think that these pages are not unworthy of following the route of the preceding communications, they are equally at your Lordship's service. I have said there is no fact or assertion precipitately hazarded; and the documents in proof are ever open to your Lordship's examination.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISLEY.

PS. Perhaps it might be as well to require the returns to be made of the number of Catholic Priests, with the distinction of Regular or Secular, &c., before the requisition is suggested of leaving out the Regulars in the recommendation to the Pope for vacant Catholic Prelacies: the latter measure will seem then to originate from the first return itself, in which the numbers of regulars and their employment will appear.

Extract from Mr. Burke's Letter to Dr. Hussey.

Beconsfield, May 18, 1795.

I do not like the style of the meeting in Francis Street; the tone was wholly Jacobinical. In Parliament, the language of your friends (one only excepted) was what it ought to be; but that one speech, though full of fire and animation, was not warmed with the fire of Heaven. He is certainly a man of parts, but one who has dealt too much in the philosophy of France. Justice, prudence, tenderness, moderation, and Christian charity, ought to become the measures of tolerance, and not a cold apathy, or, indeed, rather a savage hatred, to all religion, and an avowed contempt of all those points on which we differ, and on those about which we disagree. [Mr. Burke allows that many provoking circumstances attended the business, but that the Catholics ought not to be irritated out of their principles and out of their good sense.] The language of the day, [he says] went plainly to a separation of the two kingdoms. God forbid that any thing like it should ever happen! They would both be ruined by it, but Ireland

would suffer most and first. The thing, however, is impossible. It is a foolish language, adopted from the United Irishmen, that their grievances originate from England. The direct contrary. It is an ascendency which some of their own factions have obtained here that has hurt the Catholics with this Government. It is not as an English Government that Ministers act in that manner, but as assisting a party in Ireland. When they talk of dissolving themselves as a Catholic body, and mixing their grievances with those of their country, all I have to say is, that they lose their own importance as a body by this amalgamation; and they sink real matters of complaint in those which are factious and imaginary; for, in the name of God! what grievance has Ireland, as Ireland, to complain of with regard to Great Britain?—unless the protection of the most powerful country upon earth, giving all her privileges, without exception, in common to Ireland, and reserving to herself only the painful pre-eminence of tenfold burdens, be a matter of complaint? The subject, as a subject, is as free in Ireland as he is in England: as a member of the empire, an Irishman has every privilege of a natural born Englishman, in every part of it, in every occupation, and in every branch of commerce. No monopoly is established against him any where; and the great staple manufacture of Ireland is not only not prohibited, not only not discouraged, but it is privileged in a manner that has no example. The provision trade is the same, nor does Ireland, on her part, take a single article from England but what she has with more advantage than she could have it from any nation upon earth. I say nothing of the immense advantage she derives from the use of English capital. In what country upon earth is it that a quantity of her linens, the moment they are lodged in the warehouse, and before the sale, would entitle the Irish merchant or manufacturer to draw bills on the terms, and at the time, in which this is done by the warehouseman in London? Ireland, therefore, as Ireland, whether it be taken

civilly, constitutionally, or commercially, suffers no grievance. The Catholics, as Catholics, do: and what can be got by joining their real complaint to a complaint which is fictitious, but to make the whole pass for fiction and groundless pretence? I am not a man for construing, with too much rigour, the expressions of men under a sense of ill usage. I know that much is to be given to passion, and I hope I am more disposed to accuse the person who provokes another to anger than the person who gives way to natural feelings in hot language. If this be all, it is no great matter; but, if anger only brings out a plan that was before meditated and laid up in the mind, the thing is more serious. The tenour of the speeches in Francis Street, attacking the idea of an incorporating Union between the two kingdoms, expressed principles that went the full length of a separation and of a dissolution of that Union, which arises from their being under the same crown. That Ireland would, in that case, come to make a figure amongst the nations, is an idea which has more of the ambition of individuals in it than of a sober regard to the happiness of a whole people.

But, if a people were to sacrifice solid quiet to empty glory, as, on some occasions, they have done under the circumstances of Ireland, she, most assuredly, never would obtain that independent glory; but would certainly lose all her tranquillity, all her prosperity, and even that degree of lustre which she has by the very free and very honourable connexion she enjoys with a nation the most splendid and the most powerful upon earth. Ireland, constitutionally, is independent; politically, she never can be so. It is a struggle against nature. She must be protected, and there is no protection to be found for her, but either from France or England. France, even if (under any form she may assume) she were disposed to give the same liberal and honourable protection to Ireland, has not the means of either serving or hurting her that are in the hands of Great Britain. She might make Ireland, supposing

that kind of independence could be maintained (which, for a year, I am certain it could not) a dreadful thorn in the side of this kingdom; but Ireland would dearly buy that malignant and infernal satisfaction by a dependence upon a power, either despotic as formerly, or anarchical as at present. We see well enough the kind of liberty which she either enjoys herself, or is willing to bestow on others. This I say with regard to the scheme of those who call themselves United Irishmen, that is to say, of those who, without any regard to religion, club all kinds of discontents together, in order to produce all kinds of disorders. But, to speak to Catholics as such, it is plain that, whatever security they enjoy for their religion, as well as for the many solid advantages which, even under the present restrictions, they are entitled to, depends wholly upon their connexion with this kingdom. France is an enemy to all religion, but eminently, and with a peculiar malignity, an enemy to the Catholic religion, which they mean, if they can, to extirpate throughout the globe. It is something perverse, and even unnatural, for Catholics to hear even the sound of a connexion with France, unless, under the colour and pretext of a religious description, they should, as some have done in this country, form themselves into a mischievous political faction.

The Catholics, as things now stand, have all the splendid abilities and much of the independent property in Parliament in their favour, and every Protestant (I believe, with very few exceptions) who is really a Christian. Should they alienate those men from their cause, their choice is amongst those who, indeed, may have abilities, but not wisdom or temper in proportion, and whose very ability is not equal either in strength or exercise to that which they lose. They will have to choose men of desperate property and of no property, and men of no religions and no moral principle. Without a Protestant connexion, of some kind or other, they cannot go on; and here are the two sorts of descriptions of Protestants,

between whom they have an option to make. In this state of things, their situation, I allow, is difficult and delicate. If the better part lies by in a sullen silence, they still cannot hinder the more factious part both from speaking and from writing; and the sentiments of those who are silent will be judged by the effusions of the people who do not wish to conceal thoughts, that the sober part of mankind will not approve. On the other hand, if the better and more temperate part come forward to disclaim the others, they instantly make a breach in their own party, of which a malignant enemy will take advantage to crush them all. They will praise the sober part, but they will grant them nothing they shall desire; nay, they will make use of their submission as a proof that sober men are perfectly satisfied in remaining prostrate under their oppressive hands. These are dreadful dilemmas; and they are such as ever will arise when men in power are possessed with a crafty, malignant disposition, without any real wisdom or enlarged policy.

However, as in every case of difficulty, there is a better way of proceeding and a worse, so some medium may be found between an object, and, for that reason, an imprudent submission, and a contumacious, absurd resistance. What I would humbly suggest is, that on occasion of the declamations in the newspapers, they should make, not an apology (for that is dishonourable and dangerous), but a strong charge on their enemies for defamation, disclaiming the tenets, and practices, and designs, imprudently attributed to them, and asserting in cool, modest, and determined language, their resolution to assert the privileges to which, as good citizens and good subjects, they hold themselves entitled, without being intimidated or wearied out by the opposition of the monopolists of the kingdom. In this there will be nothing mean, or servile, or which can carry any appearance of the effect of fear, but the contrary. At the same time, it will remove the prejudices which, on this side of the water as well

as on yours, are propagated against you with so much systematic pains.

I think the Committee would do well to do something of this kind in their own name. I trust those men of great ability in that committee who incline to think that the Catholics ought to melt down their cause into the general mass of uncertain discontents and unascertained principles, will, I hope, for the sake of agreeing with those whom, I am sure, they love and respect among their own brethren, as well as for the sake of the kingdom at large, wave that idea (which I do not deny to be greatly provoked) of dissolving the Catholic body before the objects of its union are obtained, and turning the objects of their relief into a national quarrel. This, I am satisfied, on recollection, they will think not irrational. The course taken by the enemy often becomes a fair rule of action. You see, by the whole turn of the debates against them, that their adversaries endeavoured to give this colour to the contest, and to make it hinge on this principle. The same policy cannot be good for you and your enemies.

Sir George Shee, who is so good to take this, waits, or I should say more on this point. I should say something too of the Colleges. I long much to hear how you go on; I have however said too much. If Grattan, by whom I wish the Catholics to be wholly advised, thinks differently than me, I wish the whole unsaid. You see Lord Fitzwilliam sticks nobly to his text, and neither abandons his cause nor his friends, though he has few indeed to support him. When you can, pray let me hear from you. Mrs. Burke and myself, in this lonely and disconsolate house, never cease to think of you as we ought to do. I send some prints to Dublin, but, as your house is not there, I reserve a memorial of my dear Richard for your return.

I am, ever, my dear Sir, faithfully and affectionately,

Your miserable friend,

EDMUND BURKE.

Pontifical Oath.

London, April 15, 1796.

In consequence of the proceedings of the infatuated people in some parts of Ireland, called Defenders, reports have been circulated highly injurious to the Court and See of Rome, and which, if unchecked, may hereafter be destructive to many salutary arrangements of civil policy intimately connected with the interests of his Majesty's Government. The conviction of a man of the name of Levery at the last Belfast Assizes, for administering an oath "to be true to the Duke of York and his Committees," has been cited as a presumption that there is still a considerable remnant of persons active in the desperate cause of restoring the proscribed family of Stuart, and probably finding abettors at Rome.

On such an occasion, it seems an act of strict justice to refer to authentic documents which sufficiently manifest the anxiety of the See of Rome for the *peace and good order* of these kingdoms. Of this description is the Brief of the reigning Sovereign Pontiff to the Bishop of Leon now in London, as are the Letters of the Congregation of the Propaganda to the Catholic Clergy of his Majesty's dominions lately printed (published by J. P. Coghlan, No. 37, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square). That of the 7th of February, 1795, after pathetically inculcating the principles of loyalty, obedience to magistrates, &c., has these pointed words:—

"Quod quidem maximè postulat, suoque quasi jure exigit optimi istius Regis Georgii III. beneficentia, sub cujus miti ac suavi imperio degentes, Catholici tam longé abest ut durum ac grave jugum perferre cogantur, ut potius a gravioribus quibus antea obstricti erant conditionibus liberati, priveligiis instructi, militaribus copiis adscripti, et Catholicæ juventutis instituendæ venia impetrata, omni beneficiorum genere cumulati sint."[1]

[1] This is what is specially demanded and required, as it were, of right, by the beneficence of that most excellent King George III., under whose

In addition to these documents, it is also highly interesting to advert to the Pastoral Instruction of the Catholic Archbishop Troy to the Archdiocese of Dublin, of which the following is an extract:—

The Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, at their last meeting in Dublin, addressed a Letter to the Pope, wherein they described the misrepresentations that had been recently published of their Consecration Oath, and the great injury to the Catholic body, arising from them: they expressed their fullest conviction that the oath obliging them only to canonical obedience to his Holiness, and communion with the centre of unity, *was perfectly reconcileable with their loyalty as subjects and the allegiance they had sworn to their gracious Sovereign King George III.* They professed a determination to observe both oaths, and to preserve their communion with the Holy See inviolate: reflecting, however, on the ignorance of most Protestants respecting the Oath, which they seemed only acquainted with from the calumnious publications against it, the prelates abovementioned suggested to the Pope that some declaration or explanation of the Oath, and particularly of the words *Hæreticos persequar et impugnabo*, from himself, or by his authority, would probably remove the alarms of well-meaning Protestants, and confound the prejudiced who, by their misrepresentations of the Oath, endeavoured to blast the prospects and expectations of the Catholics to obtain an emancipation from the penal code; which they had reason to hope for, from the clemency of his Majesty and the wisdom of the Legislature.

After due deliberation at Rome, the Congregation of Cardinals appointed to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of

mild and benign sway the Catholics, so far from being obliged to wear a galling and heavy yoke, have been liberated, on the contrary, from the more onerous conditions by which they were before restricted, endowed with privileges, admitted into the military service, permitted to instruct the Catholic youth, and loaded with all sorts of benefits.

these kingdoms returned the following answer, by the authority and command of his Holiness;—it is faithfully translated from the Latin original.

Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lords and Brothers—We perceive, from your late letter, the great uneasiness you labour under since the publication of a pamphlet, entitled "The present state of the Church of Ireland," from which our detractors have taken occasion to renew the old calumny against the Catholic religion with increased acrimony, namely, *that this religion is by no means compatible with the safety of Kings and Republics:* because, as they say, the Roman Pontiff, being the father and master of all Catholics, and invested with such great authority that he can free the subjects of other kingdoms from their fidelity and oaths of allegiance to Kings and Princes, he has it in his power, they contend, to cause disturbances, and injure the public tranquillity of kingdoms with ease. We wonder that you could be uneasy at these complaints, especially after your most excellent brother and apostolic fellow-labourer, the Archbishop of Cashel, (the late truly excellent Dr. James Butler, who departed this life in July, 1791; a most zealous, pious prelate and loyal subject), and other strenuous defenders of the rights of the Holy See, had evidently refuted and explained away these slanderous reproaches, in their celebrated writings. What advantage then can result from any new declaration of this apostolical See, which you request, for the purpose of defending, explaining, and vindicating her rights from accusations? It would only tend to raise up fresh enemies against the Catholic faith itself; for it is the design and determination of evil-minded men in these times to combat the very faith, under the pretence of attacking the rights of the apostolical See; and to overturn and destroy the union with the apostolical chair of Peter, which Catholic churches all over the world stedfastly preserve. Be not then dismayed at these attempts; their calumnies have been already often refuted; so that all they can do now

is to revive the old ones as new, to muster up their scattered forces, to weave over again the same flimsy cobwebs. That most holy bishop, not less celebrated for his wisdom than his piety, St. Francis of Sales, was perfectly convinced, that these reproaches were repeated and propagated amongst the vulgar, merely to raise tumult, and to render weak minds uneasy; of this he has recorded a clear testimony in his 764th Letter, vol. vi. edit. Paris, 1758; which we earnestly advise you not only to peruse, but likewise to consider it as a prudent regulation to direct your conduct. Do you also discover the treachery in like manner, and teach the people committed to your care what is right; that they may learn to avoid the snares that are laid for them, lest they should go astray. This, as being not only becoming your piety, but also deriving from your authority, will make a deeper impression on the minds of the faithful committed to your pastoral care, and will prove your vindication against the calumnies of slanderers. We judge from our opinion of your learning that the rights of the apostolical See cannot be unknown to you, and that you are not unacquainted with the arguments by which they can be supported. In this controversy, a most accurate discrimination should be made between the genuine rights of the apostolical See, and those that are imputed to it by innovators of this age, for the purpose of calumniating. *The See of Rome never taught that Faith is not to be kept with the Heterodox: that an Oath to Kings separated from Catholic Communion can be violated: that it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We do consider an attempt or design against the life of Kings and Princes, even under the pretext of Religion, as a horrid and detestable crime.*

His Holiness Pius VI. has not, however, disregarded your requests; and, therefore, in order effectually to remove every occasion of cavil and calumny, which, as you write, some borrow from the words in the form of the oath of obedience to the apostolical See, that bishops are required to take at their con-

secration, I will prosecute [1] *and oppose heretics, &c. to the utmost of my power;* which words are maliciously interpreted as the signal of war against heretics, authorizing persecution and assault against them, as enemies, whereas the pursuit and opposition to heretics, which the bishops undertake, are to be understood as referring to their solicitude and efforts in convincing heretics of their error, and procuring their reconciliation with the Catholic Church; his Holiness has graciously condescended to substitute, in place of the ancient form of oath, that one which was publicly repeated by the Archbishop of Mohilow, to the great satisfaction of all the Court of Petersburgh, in presence of the Empress; and which we transmit to you with this letter.

Mean time, most illustrious prelates, you who are the sentinels of the Lord, and, by the inspiration of divine grace and the favour of the apostolical See, have undertaken the administration of these most respectable Irish Sees, adhere with firmness to this chair of Peter, in which the Lord has deposited the word of truth; preach the Gospel of Christ in all patience and doctrine: show yourselves on all occasions the example of good works, in learning, in integrity, in gravity, the sound word irreprehensible. If you conduct yourselves in this manner as we do not doubt but you do, and will continue to do with increased ardour, you will not only, by your fortitude and constancy, set those ill-contrived calumnies at defiance, but even your adversaries shall be ashamed, having no evil to say of you.

In reality, who is there that does not know what the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all others, preaches, teaches, and commands, on the duty of obedience from subjects to earthly powers? At the very commencement of the yet infant Church, blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, in-

[1] No one word in the English language corresponds exactly to *persequar*, as used here. It never signifies persecution. We have adopted the Bishop of Cloyne's translation of it.—See Dr. Butler's Justification, page 85, *et seq.*

structing the faithful, exhorted them in these words:—"Be ye subject to every human creature for God's sake; whether it be to the king as excelling, or to the governors as sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of the good; for so is the will of God, that by doing well you may silence the ignorance of foolish men." The Catholic Church being directed by these precepts, the most renowned champions of the Christian name replied to the Gentiles when raging against them, as enemies of the empire, with furious hatred; we are all constantly praying[1] that all the emperors may enjoy long life, quiet government, a loyal household, a brave army, a faithful senate, an honest people, and general tranquillity. The Bishops of Rome, successors of Peter, have not ceased to inculcate this doctrine, especially to missionaries, lest any ill will should be excited against the professors of the Catholic faith, in the minds of those who are enemies of the Christian name. We pass over the illustrious proofs of this fact, preserved in the records of ancient Roman Pontiffs; of which yourselves are not ignorant. We think proper, notwithstanding, to remind you of a late admonition of the most wise Pope Benedict XIV., who, in his regulations for the English missions, which are likewise applicable to you, speaks thus:—"The Vicars apostolic[2] are to take diligent care that the missionaries behave on all occasions with integrity and decorum, and thus become good models to others, and particularly that they be always ready to celebrate the sacred offices, to communicate proper instructions to the people, and to comfort the sick with their assistance; that they by all means avoid public assemblies of idle men and taverns. The Vicars

[1] Tertullian in Apologet., chap. 30.

[2] The Roman Catholic Bishops in England, being without Sees in that kingdom, are not ordinaries. They are denominated from some of the ancient flourishing Sees mostly in the Ottoman dominions, and, deriving their jurisdiction entirely from the Apostolical See, they are styled Vicars Apostolic, or Apostolic Vicars. This is the case also in Scotland, Holland, and some other Protestant States.

themselves are particularly charged to punish in such manner as they can, but severely, all those who do not speak of the public government with respect."

England herself can witness the deep-rooted impressions such admonitions have made on the minds of Catholics. It is well known that in the late war, which had extended to the greater part of America, when most flourishing provinces, inhabited almost by persons separated from the Catholic Church, had renounced the Government of the King of Great Britain, the province of Canada alone, filled as it is with almost innumerable Catholics, although artfully tempted, and not yet forgetful of the old French Government, remained most faithful in its allegiance to England. Do you, most excellent prelates, frequently converse on these principles; often remind your suffragan prelates of them; when preaching to your people, exhort them again and again to honour all men, to love the brotherhood, to fear God, to honour the king.

Those duties of a Christian are to be cherished in every kingdom and State, but particularly in your own of Great Britain and Ireland, where, from the benevolence of a most wise king and other most excellent rulers of those kingdoms towards Catholics, no cruel and grievous burden is imposed; and Catholics themselves experience a mild and gentle government. If you pursue this line of conduct unanimously, if you act in the spirit of charity, if, while you direct the people of the Lord, you have nothing in view but the salvation of souls, adversaries will be ashamed (we repeat it) to calumniate, and will freely acknowledge that the Catholic faith is of heavenly descent, and calculated not only to procure a blessed life, but likewise, as St. Augustin observes in his 138th letter, addressed to Marcellinus, to promote the most lasting peace of this earthly city, inasmuch as it is the safest prop and shield of kingdoms. Let those, who say (the words are those of the holy doctor) that the doctrine of Christ is hostile to the republic, produce an army of such soldiers as the doctrine of Christ has

required; let them furnish such inhabitants of provinces, such husbands, such wives, such parents, such children, such masters, such servants, such kings, such judges, finally, such payers of debts, and collectors of the revenue, as the doctrine of Christ enjoins; and then they may dare to assert that it is inimical to the republic: rather let them not hesitate to acknowledge that it is, when practised, of great advantage to the republic. The same holy doctor, and all the other fathers of the Church, with one voice, most clearly demonstrate, by invincible arguments, that the whole of this salutary doctrine cannot exist with permanent consistency and stability; or flourish, except in the Catholic Society, which is spread and preserved all over the world by communion with the See of Rome as a sacred bond of union, divinely connecting both. From our very high esteem and affection for you, we earnestly wish that the great God may very long preserve you safe. Farewell.

Rome, June 23, 1791.

As your Lordship's most affectionate brother,

L. CARDINAL ANTONELLI, Prefect.

A. ARCHBISHOP OF ADEN, Secretary.

To the Lords Archbishops of the Kingdom of Ireland.

From an audience had of his Holiness on the 9th day of June, 1791.

The Archbishops metropolitans of the kingdom of Ireland represented to his Holiness that, from the ignorance or malice of some persons, certain expressions in the form of the oath prescribed in the Roman Ritual to be taken by the Bishops at their consecration, and by Archbishops on receiving the pall, have been misinterpreted, which has added new perplexities to those which they daily experience in a kingdom where the Catholic faith is not the religion of the State; wherefore, they humbly requested, if it should appear expedient to his Holiness, that he would vouchsafe to apply a remedy by some act of his apostolical vigilance. His Holiness, on this report being

made to him by me, the underwritten, all circumstances of the case maturely considered, was graciously pleased to grant that the Bishops of the kingdom of Ireland, at their consecration, and the Archbishops on receiving the pall, may use the same form of oath, which was taken by the Archbishop of Mohilow,[1] in the empire of the Moscovites, by permission of his said Holiness, which is as follows :—

Oath.

I, N. N., &c., as in the Roman Pontifical, to the clause: All heretics, schismatics, and rebels, against our said Lord, and his successors aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, prosecute and oppose (Bishop of Cloyne's translation), which is entirely omitted; afterwards the words, the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for propagating the Faith are substituted instead of the Cardinal Proponent in the Congregation of the Sacred Council. The form concludes with these words:— I will observe all and every one of these things the more inviolably, as I am firmly convinced that there is nothing contained in them which can be contrary to the fidelity I owe to the most serene King of Great Britain and Ireland, and to his successors to the throne. So help me God, and those holy Gospels of God! Thus I promise, and engage.

I, N. N., Archbishop or Bishop, &c.

Dated at Rome, in the house of the said Sacred Congregation, the 23d day of June, 1791.

L. Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect.

A. Archbishop of Aden, Secretary.

(Seal.)

Addition to the Romish Catechism.

It is observed, in the preceding summary, that Sir J. Hippisley suggested to the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland,

[1] Mohilow was erected into an Archbishopric, with a Chapter, by the present Pope. The first Archbishop, Stanislaus Siestrzencewez, was appointed in a consistory at Rome, December 21, 1783, and is still living.

the introduction of certain addenda to the ordinary Catechism of their Communion, inculcating the civil and social duties of a good subject, as connected with the obligations of religion, and that the suggestion was adopted. The following addenda was, in consequence, approved in a general meeting of the Irish Roman Catholic Prelacy, and ordered to be incorporated in the Catechism taught universally in the Roman Church throughout Ireland.

Additional Questions and Answers to the General Catechism recommended by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland in the year 1800.

Lesson 17th.—On the Fourth Commandment.

Question. What are the duties of subjects to the temporal Powers?—*Answer.* To be subject to them, and to honour and obey them, not only for wrath, but also for conscience-sake; for it is the will of God. 1 *Pet.* 2 *and Rom.* 13.

Does the Scripture require any other duty of subjects?—Yes, to pray for Kings, and for all who are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life. 1 *Tim.* 2.

Is it sinful to resent or combine against the established Authorities, or to speak with contempt or disrespect of those who rule over us?—Yes; St. Paul says, Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation. *Rom.* 13.

What are the chief duties of masters to their servants, apprentices, and all others under their care?—To lead them to God by word and example, to see that they be exact in their religious duties, to treat them with justice and humanity, and to correct and reprove them when necessary.

What does St. Paul say to masters?—Masters, do to your servants that which is just and equitable, knowing that you also have a master in Heaven. *Coloss.* iv., 1.

What are the chief duties of servants and apprentices to

their masters?—To be obedient, respectful, and faithful to them, to be diligent in their work and service, and not to suffer their masters to be injured in their property by any persons. *Ephes.* 6, *Coloss.* 3.

What is commanded by the Fourth Commandment?—To love, honour, and obey parents and superiors. *Col.* iii., 20.

What is forbidden by the Fourth Commandment?—All contempt, stubbornness, ill will, and disobedience to parents and superiors.

Suggestion of an Oath or Test for Roman Catholics.

A Catholic must now, in order to vote for a Member of Parliament, or hold any of the offices which he is enabled to hold by 33d Geo. III., c. 21, take the two following Oaths, besides the Oath of allegiance:—

1st. I do take Almighty God and his only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer, to witness that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our Most Gracious Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of my power the succession of the Crown in his Majesty's family against any person or persons whatsoever, hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales in the lifetime of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland by the name of Charles the Third,[1] and to any other person claiming or pretending a

[1] Grandson of James II., commonly called the Young Pretender, who headed the rebellion in Scotland in 1745. After his death, in 1788,

right to the Crown of these realms; and I do swear that I do reject and detest, as unchristian and impious, to believe that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever for or under pretence of their being heretics, and also that unchristian and injurious principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics. I further declare that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that Princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I do promise that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion, contrary to what is expressed in this declaration; and I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other Foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this Realm; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God and of his only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this Oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am, or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof; although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God! 13 and 14 Geo. III., cap. 35.

2nd. I do hereby declare that I do profess the Roman Catholic Religion. I do swear that I do abjure, condemn, and

the royal title was assumed by his brother, the Cardinal, who then styled himself Henricus IX. Angliæ Rex, gratia Dei, non voluntate hominum.

detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever for or under the pretence of being a heretic; and I do declare solemnly before God that I believe that no act in itself, unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by or under reference or colour that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any Ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any Ecclesiastical Power should issue or direct any such order; but, on the contrary, I hold that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto. I further declare that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me can be forgiven at the mere will of the Pope, or of any Priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being. I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic Establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear that I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant Religion and Protestant Government in this kingdom. So help me God! 33d Geo. III., cap. 21.

But no man can sit or vote in the Irish Parliament, or hold any of the offices specified by 33d Geo. III., without also

taking and subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation, &c., and receiving the Sacrament according to the ceremonies of the Church of England, except Protestant Dissenters, who, by the 19th and 20th Geo. III. c. 6, are excused from the test of the Sacrament.

The objections made by those who oppose the total abolition of Catholic disability are chiefly founded on the following considerations:—

That although, by the above two oaths, they disclaim all foreign jurisdiction, temporal or civil, and any obligatory authority to direct or issue any order in its own nature immoral, or to forgive any sin or act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked; yet these very words import, by necessary implication, a belief in foreign spiritual or Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and may leave it still to that jurisdiction to pronounce what is in itself immoral or a sin; that jurisdiction of any sort includes some power to direct, control, restrain, punish, or influence, in some manner, the actions and conduct of those subject to it; that such a reservation is inconsistent with the Supreme and entire internal[1] sovereignty of the State; and that, although the power of the Pope or any foreign Council, or other foreign jurisdiction, may, in fact, be now very little formidable, yet such a tenet may, by artful and disaffected persons, be made use of to forward purposes of the most dangerous nature; that the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Court of Rome, which, in those oaths is saved by not being disavowed, extends to causes testamentary and matrimonial (so much and so unavoidably connected with important civil rights and relations, and the title to property); that the pastoral charges of Dr. Troy, titular Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Hussey, titular Bishop of Waterford, published since the Act of 33d Geo. III. (although men, especially the first, generally thought moderate

[1] I mention internal, because the Scotch at the Union, and even the Revolution, objected to the King's Supremacy in spiritual, but said it resided in their National Church.—*Note in the Original.*

and attached to the present Government), show that sincere Catholics still hold opinions, whose tendency is of a nature to render it unsafe to trust them with any important share in the Government; that, moreover, all the Catholic Bishops on their consecration take an oath, of which the following sentences make a part:—

"I will assist and aid the Pope of Rome to retain and defend the Roman Papacy and the Royalties of Saint Peter against all mankind, saving the rights of my own order. I will take care to preserve, defend, increase, and promote the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his successors."

On consideration of the foregoing topics, if it should be found expedient to enable Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament, and hold the greater executive offices, or to admit them to either of those capacities, it has occurred to me that some such oath or test as the following might obviate the political objections in a very considerable degree.

I should propose to exempt Irish Catholics (in all cases, but the appointment to any offices or situation of an ecclesiastical nature) from taking the declaration against transubstantiation and the Sacrament according to the Church of England.

"I, A B, do take Almighty God and his only Son, Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, to witness, that I do believe that neither the Pope, nor any foreign person or persons, hath any right, lawful power, authority, or jurisdiction, of any sort or of any respect whatsoever, over the actions or conduct of his Majesty's subjects (of this Realm) or any of them, in regard to their duties either towards his said Majesty or towards each other, or any of such duties, nor any right or lawful power whatsoever, to direct, control, restrain, prohibit, or punish, such subjects, or any of them in, from, or on account of the performance of such duties, or any of them, or for anything done or omitted on account of such duties or any of them; and that all right, lawful power, authority, and jurisdiction, over such subjects, in

regard to all their said duties, belong solely to his Majesty and the Parliament of this kingdom, according to the laws and statutes thereof, and to such persons as are lawfully appointed, by virtue of the said laws and statutes, to administer and execute the same. So help me God!"

It has been publicly said by some of the pretended Catholics of Ireland that Popery is now at an end in that country, and by some of their most strenuous advocates that the authority of Popes and priests is become contemptible to them. On the one hand, those who entertain such sentiments, but may think it (as perhaps some respectable persons may think it) dishonourable to renounce a sect of which they and their ancestors have long made part, cannot have any fair ground of complaint of being excluded from Parliament and office by this oath, nor can those who really for conscience-sake refuse it be admitted to those situations consistently with the security of the State.

On the other hand, whoever takes it gives as complete a test of his political principles as if he had solemnly abjured Popery, subscribed the declaration, and communicated according to the rites of the Church of England. A man may do the one or the other with mental reservation, and under the authority of previous permission, or the expectation of subsequent absolution, flowing from what he may think competent authority. But this, in either case, must rest with his own conscience. It is a matter beyond the reach of human precaution.

ON THE EXPEDIENCY OF REGULATION, AND A PROVISION FOR THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

——[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

October 5, 1799.

My dear Lord—I return you the papers with which you were so good as to entrust me. Herewith, you have likewise a summary of the Papal encroachments in the appointment of

[1] The signature to this letter has been carefully erased.

the great benefices in England from the time of the Conqueror down to the Reformation. It was upon a conversation relative to the history of the former power of the Popes in the disposal of Church benefices in England, that you first conceived it expedient to confide to me Sir J. C. Hippisley's and the other papers now returned. I thought it, therefore, best to draw up a short epitome of our history upon this point. Over this you may cast your eye at some leisure moment: it has been collected chiefly from the poor materials which the library of this house furnishes, and, although extremely imperfect, may yet enable you to form a rough judgment of what was the legitimate and acknowledged power of the Popes in these countries prior to the Reformation.

I have gone through Sir J. C. Hippisley's papers with much attention: they appear to me to convey information of considerable importance; and I entirely agree with him, although I was perhaps before inclined to have entertained a different opinion, that, in a business, from the result of which so much advantage to the good Government of Ireland is reasonably to be expected, it would be imprudent, from any false delicacy, to avoid a direct negociation with the See of Rome, or the direct acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy in matters merely of a spiritual nature relating to the Catholic religion of this kingdom. I shall take the liberty of tracing to you the result of my sentiments upon this matter; and, although I find myself extremely inadequate to embrace at once the whole of so vast a subject, yet some of my ideas may possibly be of service; at least, my offering them to your consideration can be attended with no ill effect.

I take it for granted that Government has already given directions for obtaining those returns mentioned in Sir J. C. Hippisley's letter of the 10th February, 1799. These will furnish matter from which much argument may be drawn, useful in the proposed negociation; and the speedy acquisition of them, besides many collateral advantages, will enable Govern-

ment to ascertain the absolute expense of the proposed establishment, and to form a rough plan of the gradations in point of value of the different Church benefices, with reference to the particular Sees, Parishes, Deaneries, Vicariates-General, and perhaps Prebendaries, previous to the direct commencement of any negociation with the Court of Rome. From Dr. Troy's answer to one of the queries which I took the liberty of submitting to him, through your Lordship, and which will be found in the packet of papers enclosed, we find that the gradations of dignity in their Church are as follows: archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, prebends, beneficed priests, and curates. In going through the outlines of what I should conceive might be an advisable plan for Government to adopt, in order to secure the influence of the Crown over the Catholic clergy, as far as is necessary for the temporal security of the State, or consistent with the tenets of their faith, I shall begin with the appointment of curacies, and ascend from these to the parochial clergy, and from these again to the higher dignities.

From the motives which induced Sir J. C. Hippisley, when at Rome, to exert himself for the purpose of having National Superiors appointed to the British and Irish Seminaries there, and from the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers and the Legislature of this country, manifested in the foundation of the Catholic College of Maynooth, it will be admitted of how much importance it is to the State that the youth intended for the priesthood in Ireland should receive an education as well to enable them to perform the clerical duties of that situation into which they are destined to enter, as in the civil principles of the established Government.

Notwithstanding Sir J. C. Hippisley's honourable efforts and final success in having obtained the appointment of National Superiors to the British Seminaries abroad, I am inclined to think this a feeble security for the good education of the Irish youth intended to become pensioners of the State, whose

province it will be to instruct others, and whose precepts and example are likely to have so much influence over the conduct of the multitude; for the Crown could pretend to no interference in these seminaries, except perhaps by the tardy, distant, and uncertain representations of his Majesty's future resident at the Court of Rome. The King could have no right of visitation, no security against the evil discipline, doctrines, or opinions which might be inculcated in them, or perhaps be admitted even to the knowledge of the general line of education under which the youth of these seminaries might be instructed. On the contrary, over the College of Maynooth, the Crown, through the medium of the Chancellor and the chief judges, has a participation in the visitation (though, it must be confessed, not so great as could be wished) and the Parliament are or will still be entitled to demand such accounts of their proceedings as may be deemed expedient.

I should, therefore, propose endeavouring to make it an essential condition in the arrangement, that no person should (after a reasonable period) be appointed to any curacy or higher situation in the Catholic Church of Ireland, who had not graduated at the Catholic College of Maynooth. This is certainly no very unreasonable demand: a similar regulation, entered into both by the English and Irish Bishops, obtains in our own Church; neither do I think it will be found difficult, if, upon the part of Government, it shall be thought an advisable proposition to procure its concession. For, though doubtless such a proposal will meet with the disapprobation of the British and Irish foreign seminaries, and possibly of the Cardinal Protector, yet, besides the actual state of the See of Rome rendering the present moment peculiarly propitious for negociation, the demand in itself is most just. It appears to me that the only fair object which could have been held out to induce the foundation of foreign seminaries was the default of those of a domestic nature. If the National Seminaries are instituted unexceptionably with respect

to the tenets which they profess and actually inculcate, the necessity for the continuance of foreign ones totally fails. Besides, the College of Maynooth was expressly founded for the purpose of giving those who were in future to discharge the functions of the Irish priesthood a domestic education, was accepted as such by the Catholic clergy of Ireland, no doubt with the concurrence of the See of Rome, and its institution considered at the time as a grand indulgence conferred upon the Catholics of the kingdom. If, then, the priesthood is still to be appointed from persons who receive a foreign education, *cui bono* the establishment of the Catholic Seminary at Maynooth? Neither can this demand, in any way, fairly be construed as an endeavour, upon the part of the Crown, to interfere in matters of Catholic Church discipline. All the Catholic Bishops of Ireland are trustees of this institution; its fellows, professors, tutors, &c., as I understand (for I have not the Act before me), chosen by them; and as, upon its institution, these were considered by the Catholics as a sufficient safeguard to their religious tenets, so I can see no reason from which any danger is justly to be inferred by them, either now, or in consequence of the future arrangement intended to be entered into. But I do not fear any great objections being made to this part of the proposed plan from the Catholic clergy of Ireland; for, in proportion as it will become the interest of the foreign seminaries to oppose the demand in question, in the same proportion will it become the interest, as well of the Catholic Bishops and of the members of the Catholic College, as of the candidates for the future priesthood of Ireland, to support it; of the first, by giving them consequence as being trustees and superiors of the College, and having the superintendence of the education of those who are hereafter to become clergy of their respective dioceses; of the second, by the encouragement given to their College, and enrichment of its members, by holding out to its students the entire monopoly of the Catholic Church benefices of Ireland; and of the last, by insuring to them the

almost certain succession, in case of good behaviour, to some benefice, and sparing them the expence, fatigue, and inconvenience attendant upon a foreign education. Whether this shall or shall not be conceived as a necessary foundation to the arrangement, I leave for your Lordship's consideration: in my mind, it would tend, as far as the nature of the case would permit, to secure the appointment of proper objects to the prelacy.

I should then propose allowing the tutelar bishop of the diocese to present the name of such person as he should think fit, who had been properly graduated in the Catholic university, and previously ordained according to the forms of the Romish Church, to the Crown for acceptance; the name of the person being accompanied with the denomination of the cure which he may be proposed to fill, and with a certificate from the Superior of the College of his good principles and conduct, and of his having been properly graduated, and likewise a similar certificate from the Catholic bishop of the principles and good behaviour of the person proposed. These might either be transmitted through the metropolitan of the province, or directly from the bishop, in the former of which cases a certificate upon belief by the Catholic archbishop might likewise be required. Upon this, in a convenient time, the Crown would either affix or deny its fiat; and, in the latter event, the same proceedings should be observed with respect to any other person proposed, till, by the approbation of the Crown, the cure should become full. From a paper herewith returned, indorsed "Sketch of an Establishment for the Roman Catholic and Dissenting Clergymen," I do not find it to be in the contemplation of Government to give any specific allowance from the Public Treasury to curates, neither do I think it necessary; but, as this body will doubtless have it much in their power to influence the Catholic inhabitants of the different parishes by their preaching and teaching, and as it is probable, from Dr. Troy's answer to my queries above alluded to, that those pre-

sented for the parochial benefices will be principally selected from among the curates, it will certainly be right to have some effectual security for the good conduct and morals of the person appointed.

With respect to the appointment of parochial priests to the different parishes, I should propose a similar mode to be adopted, leaving the right of proposal always in the titular bishop of the diocese, specifying, likewise, a particular time (suppose three months) within which, upon a vacancy, the nomination should be made, and always requiring the same sort of certificates to be annexed to the name of the person proposed, as in the case of curates. Perhaps, likewise, in conformity to Sir J. C. Hippisley's ideas upon the subject of regular clergy, it might also be advisable to annex to these certificates that the person proposed is not a person professed, and even to require the oath of the party to this point previous to his approbation by the Crown. But upon the subject of the regular clergy, I shall have occasion again to speak before the conclusion of this letter. When the name of the person, together with the required certificates, shall be laid before the King, he will, as in the case of the appointment of curates, within a reasonable time, affix or withhold his fiat; in the former event, the person will become entitled to all the profits of the benefice; in the latter, a new and similar presentment must be made, until a person shall be found to whose appointment the crown does not object.

It appears, from a paper before me, already alluded to, that it is the intention of Government to make a distinction in the value of the different parochial benefices from £25 to £40 per annum. I conceive it could be attended with no danger to allow the Catholic bishops of the respective dioceses a right of proposal to these also in favour of any priest who possessed a smaller benefice, and whose good behaviour should entitle him to promotion. Thus suppose a parish, to which the sum of £40 per annum was annexed as a salary, should become

vacant, the Catholic bishop of the diocese should be empowered to present the name of any beneficed priest to the Crown whose benefice was of a lower value, with proper certificates of good conduct annexed, and the Crown should be empowered either to accept or reject, as might be deemed expedient. In this case, the benefice of lesser value would become vacant, which should be filled up in the same manner as is suggested for the appointment of curates.

The gradations of rank in the Romish Church of Ireland are, according to Dr. Troy's answer to my queries, so very few, that I am inclined to think it might be worthy the consideration of Government, whether it would not be advisable to retain them all. It would certainly be a flattering concession upon the part of the Crown, and one which might possibly, by showing the good inclination of the King, in the progress of the negociation, lead to concessions much more valuable and effectual upon the part of the See of Rome. In fact, the only dignitaries of which Government could reasonably demand the abolition are the prebendaries, and the expence of these might so easily be taken proportionably from the proposed salaries of the deans and vicars-general, that little, if any, additional charge would be made for them upon the Public Treasury. Suppose, instead of giving £100 per annum, £80 should be the annual salary of a vicar-general, and £140, instead of £150, that of the Dean, this would give £30 per annum in each Catholic diocese for the payment of prebends. In our Church, some of the prebendaries are not, as I understand, salaried at above £10 per annum. Suppose, then, £5 was made the annual salary of a prebend of the Romish Church, the sum of £30 per annum from each titular diocese would form a fund, from which, one with the other, the whole of the Catholic prebends could be paid, probably without any additional expence to the State. If these dignitaries shall be admitted into the arrangement, I should then propose giving the Catholic bishops a right of proposal to these also, so that

they should be taken from the beneficed clergy of the diocese, and subject, as in the former cases, to the approbation or disapprobation of the Crown.

Vicars-general are the assistants of the bishop, and, according to Dr. Troy, "exercise his ordinary jurisdiction as delegated by him." Of these, I should propose admitting but one in each titular diocese, who, as he would be a beneficed priest, would be well paid for his extraordinary duty by the addition of £80 per annum to the salary of his benefice. And, as vicars-general derive their authority from the bishop, so I should suggest the propriety in this, as well as in the preceding cases, of giving the bishop a power of presenting such beneficed priest as he should think fit for the occupation of this situation to the Crown for its sanction. In all these instances, the names of the persons proposed should be accompanied with proper certificates of good conduct, &c., and the person, before his appointment, should be bound to take the oaths of allegiance, and, if thought necessary, those likewise of his not being professed.

Should the above propositions meet the ideas of Government, it will scarcely be contended, in the progress of any negociation for the purpose of rendering them effectual, that the Crown has required any unreasonable or dangerous power to be granted to it by the hitherto proposed arrangement, or that the Catholic bishops are left without sufficient means of establishing and keeping up their consequence. For the education of the candidates for situations in their Church is almost exclusively carried on under their own inspection and authority; the selection of each person proposed, either for a curacy or benefice, is to be at their choice. They have the power, in their respective dioceses, of rewarding merit, either by the nomination to a benefice of greater value, or by conferring prebendaries, or by advancing one of their priests to the vicariate-general; and the crown has no farther interference than by its simple negative, which, it is scarcely to be presumed, will be

wantonly applied, and for which control in the Crown the State is willing to pay a considerable stipend, to be annexed to every parish, prebendary, and vicariate-general. Besides, the practice in Holland, as stated in Sir J. C. Hippisley's letter to Lord Hobart of January 12, 1799, will furnish a sufficient proof that this demand upon the part of a Protestant State is not without precedent.

It might likewise be advisable, in case the above propositions should be agreed to, to make it a distinct article in the arrangement, that no persons should be permitted to preach or perform the functions of a Catholic priest or curate, save and except those who had thus been tendered to and accepted by the Crown, leaving it to the future wisdom of Parliament to affix the penalty to be inflicted upon the person violating this part of the arrangement. In the promotion to the higher dignities of the Church, such as archbishoprics, bishoprics, and deaneries, to which the Pope has hitherto appointed, it will perhaps be necessary that the Crown should have some greater and more direct interference. It is unnecessary here to point out how great may be the danger arising to the State from the appointment of improper persons to the first dignities in the Catholic church. The example of Dr. Hussey, the late ill-judged appointment of Father Concanen to the titular See of Kilmacduagh, "who," as Dr. Bodkin affirms, "had friends amongst the new revolutionary government (at Rome), and obtained their leave to remain there," joined to the greater degree of tranquillity which, during the turbulences of the last three years, those parts of Ireland enjoyed in which the Catholic bishops exerted themselves for the preservation of the public peace;—these considerations will serve to show how necessary it is to ascertain the loyalty and attachment of the higher Catholic clergy, and the utility of some positive interference upon the part of Government in the appointment to the upper stations of their Church.

For this purpose, I should propose the example of the

Gallican church, previous to the Revolution. Upon the vacancy of a deanery, the Crown should be at liberty, within a reasonable time, to nominate three of the beneficed clergy (perhaps of the titular diocese), and, having inserted their names in a list, should transmit these, either through the Catholic primate, or, in case of having a future resident minister at Rome, through that minister, to the Pope, who should be at liberty to appoint whichever of the three he should think fit; it being always understood that the first upon the list is the one particularly recommended. The See of Rome should bind itself to issue its bulls in favour of the person thus appointed within a reasonable time, and likewise to notify the name of the person thus appointed to the Government of England through the same channel by which the recommendations were received; upon which, and the oaths of allegiance, &c., taken, the person should become entitled to the absolute possession of his benefice, and the profits of it.

The same methods to be used in filling up the vacancies to the titular bishoprics, upon the appointment of which last, the parochial benefice of the person promoted would become void, which should be filled up in the mode above suggested for the disposal of curacies, &c.

So, in the event of the vacancy of an archbishopric, except that, in this instance, the Crown should select the three names recommended from among the titular bishops of Ireland.

In these two last cases of bishops and archbishops, as it seems to be the intention of Government to make a variation in value in some of the Sees, and probably, among the archbishoprics, to annex a greater annual salary to the Catholic primacy than to the others, a question will naturally arise upon the subject of translation from one See to another. These I should suggest the expediency of confining to their respective orders; that is, archbishoprics to archbishops, and bishoprics to bishops, leaving the necessity of these translations to be judged of wholly by the Crown. But, as the Pope's bulls of

institution are, according to the tenets of the Catholic faith, necessary in this instance, the Crown might transmit the name of the bishop recommended for translation to the Pope, through either of the above suggested channels, giving liberty to the Pope either to accept or reject him; in which last event, a second name should, if thought requisite, be presented, which, if likewise rejected, the Court of Rome should be bound to issue its bulls of institution to the third. But, in case of the translation of titular archbishops, the See of Rome should be allowed but one refusal, and be bound to confirm the appointment of the second person presented. Upon translations, the vacant Sees, whether archbishoprics or bishoprics, should be filled up according to the respective modes above suggested.

The See of Rome has, at this moment, the absolute nomination to all the titular deaneries, archbishoprics, and bishoprics of this kingdom; and, as it appears from Sir J. C. Hippesley's letters, and from Dr. Troy's answers, that, in the case of titular deans, Papal bulls are necessary for their appointment, and in that of archbishops and bishops, bulls of institution are necessary previous to consecration, according to the discipline of the Catholic Church. I am not aware (even should it be the desire of Government), how it will be possible in any negociation fairly to insist upon any greater renunciation on the part of the Court of Rome, of its interference in the appointment to these situations in their Church, than is proposed by the above suggested plan.

Neither, upon the other hand, do I think that any fair and valid objection can, particularly at this time, be adduced by the See of Rome in opposition to any part of the proposed arrangement. It cannot be pretended that the doctrines and tenets of the Catholic faith are in any degree endangered by it. The Crown, in each part of it, is tied up with regard to the class of persons from which its recommendations are to be taken. These persons are educated in the Catholic faith, under the auspices of those of their own Church, under the guidance

of their own bishops, appointed to curacies, parochial benefices, &c., upon the recommendation of these bishops; out of this class the Crown has no power to travel, for the purpose of finding objects for recommendation, and the head of the Catholic Church is empowered to reject two out of three of the persons recommended.

If this had continued a Catholic country, and if the conclusions drawn in the annexed epitoma of our church history are admissible, the See of Rome could at most legitimately have pretended but to a negative upon the appointment to the great church benefices, and this negative a Protestant State proposes still to continue to him, as far at least as is consistent with reason. The outline of the proposed plan with regard to the higher situations of the Catholic Church is taken from that adopted by a Catholic State, and it will be scarcely urged in argument that greater powers ought to be given to the See of Rome by a Protestant than by a Catholic country. For, if, on the one hand, it is alleged that the Catholic religion runs greater risks, and therefore requires greater safeguards, in a country in which the Protestant Church is established, so, on the other hand, it may with equal justice be observed, that a Protestant State requires some certain security for its own existence upon the admission, toleration, nay, even encouragement, of the Catholic faith within its territory.

But, it may be said, in the present plan, a Protestant prince is proposed to be allowed an interference in the appointment of the Catholic prelacy, and may make use of his powers in this respect, for the subversion of the faith. In answer to this, I observe that the late indulgences to the Catholics (confessed as such by the See of Rome), and the at present proposed allowances to their clergy, look not like any design, upon the part of Government, to overturn their doctrines; that the plan itself sufficiently secures them, and that in every negociation much must be left to the good faith of the contracting parties. I do not, however, imagine that the Court of Rome (even should

it be so disposed) will think the present a very suitable moment for questioning the good faith of the British Crown.

I confess myself unable to reply to the observation of a marginist upon a paper above alluded to, entitled "Sketch of an Establishment for the Roman Catholic and Dissenting Clergy," because I do not understand it. If, by the assertion of the King being a Protestant King, he means that on this account the difficulty of gaining the consent of the Pope to this plan may be greater, I may perhaps be willing in some degree to coincide with him, but am by no means disposed to agree with him in concluding it on that account unattainable; and certain I am, although the King of Prussia is an absolute monarch, that, if he nominates to the Romish Sees in his dominions, it will furnish a very strong ground upon which to found the far inferior demands on the part of our King, contained in the suggested plan.

Upon the whole, should the arrangements above proposed meet the approbation of Government, it would be impossible for any one, so little versant as I am in matters of negociation, to venture a prediction of its being deemed acceptable upon the part of the Court of Rome; but as, on the one hand, every care has been taken, in the formation of the plan, to leave as much to the clergy and chief prelate of the Catholic religion as is consistent with safety, so, on the other hand, most thoroughly am I convinced that securities of equal validity with those proposed ought not only to be demanded, but most strenuously urged, on the part of our Government.

With regard to suspensions, deprivations, &c., as they are of a nature interwoven with the interior discipline of the Catholic Church, it might appear a dangerous attempt against that faith, if our Government should endeavour to interfere with them; neither do I see any evil to be apprehended in leaving them as they are. Government might, however (should it be thought expedient), fairly require the consent of the Crown to be made a necessary ingredient in the absolute de-

privation of any archbishop, bishop, or dean, and make it likewise a part of the arrangement, that persons convicted as well of capital as of some inferior crime, such as sedition, &c., should, *ipso facto*, be deprived of their benefices or cures, and be incapacitated from any further exercise of their clerical functions.

Upon the subject of bulls, briefs, rescripts, &c., Sir J. C. Hippesley has in his letters proposed that these should, previous to their publication, be examined, and, if not hostile to the civil government of the State, fiated by an officer appointed for that purpose. Nothing can seem more just than this. A regulation upon this subject is, in fact, absolutely necessary for the safety of the country; and the examples both of France and Holland, mentioned in this gentleman's letters, are precedents which ought to ensure compliance with any demand upon this subject.

Of the regular clergy I have promised to say a few words. From the observations of Sir J. C. Hippisley upon this class of men, and from my own knowledge of the mischiefs which originated from the Carmelites in the County of Galway, and perhaps in other parts of the kingdom, I am strongly inclined to think it would be extremely desirable if, upon consideration, it should be found practicable to take steps for their entire abolition in Ireland. This might, perhaps, become feasible in two ways: first, by a distinct arrangement upon this subject with the See of Rome, which might, perhaps, be induced to issue the proper bulls, to prevent the further increase of this set of men in Ireland. Should this be attained, as, according to Dr. Troy, "the total number of individuals composing these orders does not exceed 250" (although I am inclined to think, from a comparison drawn from their number in the County of Galway, that he has much under-estimated them), it might be advisable to give a small salary to such of these as are not at present beneficed, during their lives. The other mode by which they might, perhaps, be finally got rid of, or

at least rendered less dangerous, might be by taking no direct notice whatever of them in the negociation of the proposed arrangement, making no allowance of any kind for them; and, as the Crown will, according to the above suggested plan, have a negative in the appointment of all curates, parochial priests, and other persons entitled to officiate in the Catholic Church (and a sufficient control over the appointment to the higher dignities), it might either uniformly exercise its powers against the appointment of persons professed, or notify, to the titular archbishops and bishops, its wish that no regular clergyman should, in future, be presented for its sanction. Being thus excluded from the exercise of every clerical function, having no endowments of their own for their support, and the Irish people, as well from poverty as natural disposition, being but little given to charity, these, joined to the jealousy of the Seculars, and the rising state of these last, when compared with that of those professed, would naturally operate to deter his Majesty's Catholic subjects in future from entering into religion.

In every case, however, it would doubtless be expedient, in conformity to the ideas of Sir J. C. Hippisley upon this subject, to make the admission, observance, or publication of mandates from the Generals of any religious orders highly penal; except, as in the case of bulls, briefs, rescripts, &c., they should have been previously approved and fiated by an officer of the Crown.

In the above suggested ideas, nothing has been said relative to Catholic schools. These may, perhaps, better come under the cognizance of some municipal regulation; and, indeed, the treasonable conduct of the lower schoolmasters, previous to and during the late troubles in Ireland, calls aloud for some Parliamentary arrangements, by which their future conduct may be better regulated. Before I take my leave, permit me to say a few words upon a subject which, although it may with justice be considered as entering into the interior discipline of

the Romish Church, yet, as it is likewise much connected with the peace, tranquillity, and future good government of Ireland, may, perhaps, be worthy of your consideration; and, in the event of a satisfactory arrangement relative to the Catholic clergy taking place between the courts of London and Rome, may possibly be deemed the proper object of some future representations from the former of these to the latter.

The matter to which I allude, is that of confession and absolution, as exercised in Ireland—I say, as exercised in Ireland, because I am convinced that the manner in which these sacraments of the Romish Church are administered in this country cannot conform to the original spirit even of the Roman Catholic faith, but is in abuse of that faith peculiar to Ireland, where, operating upon the avarice of an impoverished priesthood, and upon the consummate ignorance of the multitude, it is productive of the very worst effects, by hardening the minds of the people, encouraging them, from the certainty of spiritual pardon, to the commission of the very worst of crimes, and rendering temporal punishment almost ineffectual by making the objects of it a subject of pity instead of abhorrence. Thus we see a man who has been guilty of the most horrid murder, if perchance he shall be brought to the place of execution, calling Heaven and all the saints to witness, that he is as innocent of the offence for which he is about to suffer as the child unborn; and the wretch may possibly imagine that he is so, for he has confessed and been absolved. Thus we likewise see a witness brought upon the table, swearing the most direct falsehoods, and juries bringing in verdicts in opposition to the most positive evidence, well knowing that, upon retiring from the Court-house, the first priest will hear their private confession, and give them absolution. These are not overstrained or rare instances; they are what happens in every day's practice. How is it possible to carry on the municipal government of a country in which religion itself is made the instrument of crime? You, my Lord, who have principally

resided in a Protestant part of Ireland, might not have been acquainted with these circumstances, had not your appointment to a high situation in the Government given you a superintendent prospect of what happens through the whole country. The great majority of perjuries, false verdicts, dying declarations of innocence, &c., &c., previous to and during the course of the late Rebellion, may be referred to the improper administration of the sacraments of confession and absolution.

Of the great advantages taken of the acquittals and dying declarations of their associates by the promoters of sedition of the outcries raised in the Jacobin prints, and of the detriment they were of to the established Government, you are fully aware. If, then, these are, as I contend, for the most part referable to confession and absolution, as practised by the Irish Priesthood, there can be little doubt that some regulation between England and Rome is requisite for the purpose of their reformation.

I ought to make many apologies for having so long trespassed upon your time. The best, however, I can offer is by no longer doing so, than merely to assure you how much I am, my dear Lord, —— ——.

STATUTES PASSED IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. FOR THE RELIEF OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN IRELAND.

Whoever looks into the Irish Statute Book will find that, in the reign of his present Majesty, it has been the constant object of the Legislature of Ireland to remove the restraints and disqualifications of the Roman Catholics, by a series of laws in their favour. I shall briefly enumerate such of them as now occur to me.

Anno 13 and 14 George III. (1773-4), ch. 35, "An Act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him."

This allows Roman Catholics to take the oath of allegiance and abjuration, without the oath of supremacy, &c.

Anno 17 and 18 George III. (1777-8), ch. 49, "An Act for the relief of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish Religion."

This takes away many restraints in their granting and receiving leases, and in disposing of their estates; and it especially provides, that the conformity of the eldest son shall not affect the estate of his Popish parent, or alter the reversion, &c.

Anno 21 and 22 George III. (1781-2), ch. 24, "An Act for the further relief of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish Religion."

This enables all persons who will take the oath of allegiance, &c. (as in 13 and 14 George III.), to purchase, or take, and dispose of lands, the same as Protestants, and especially frees all Ecclesiastics from all the penalties and restraints of former Acts; they may perform in their chapels all the public acts of their religion; may marry all persons of their own persuasion, and such marriages are good in law: provided the said Ecclesiastic shall register his Christian and Sirname, place of abode, age, and parish, if he have a parish, and the time and place of his receiving his first and every other Popish orders, and from whom he received them, with the registrar of the diocese where his place of abode is, for every which registry the sum of one shilling, and no more, shall be paid to the Registrar.

Anno eodem, ch. 62. "An Act to allow persons professing the Popish Religion to teach school in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of Papists, and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of children."

This, in the preamble, expressly blames the former laws on this subject as too severe, and therefore repeals such parts of them as relate to the education of persons professing the Popish Religion.

Anno 32 George III. (1792), ch. 21. "An Act to remove certain restraints and disabilities therein mentioned, to which

his Majesty's subjects, professing the Popish Religion, are now subject."

This removes all disqualifications from lawyers at the bar, and from attorneys of the Roman Catholic Religion. It repeals all restraints on the intermarriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics; as also certain laws which prohibited a foreign education. It releases Roman Catholic Schoolmasters from the necessity of being licensed by the Ordinary, and removes certain restraints in the number of apprentices, &c.

Anno 33 George III. (1793), ch. 21. "An Act for the relief of his Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland."

This Act sweeps away almost every remaining disqualification which would affect his Majesty's subjects of this persuasion: for by it the former oath of allegiance is altered and adapted to their profession; the abjuration oath and declarations formerly required, and the test of receiving the Sacrament according to the Established Church are there repealed; and they are, by this Act, qualified for every office, civil or military; may vote at elections; may be in the commission of the peace, and hold any office of trust, except such as relate to the Ecclesiastical Establishment, and excepting also their voting in Parliament, or filling a few of the great offices of State, such as being Lord-Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy, &c., Secretaries of State, Members of Privy Council, Lord High Chancellor, Lord Chief Justices, the Judges in the Courts of Law, Prime Sergeant, Attorney and Solicitor-General, second and third Sergeants-at-Law, King's Council, Masters in Chancery, Provost or Fellows of Trinity College, Postmaster-General, Generals on the Staff, Governor, Sheriff, or Sub-Sheriff of any County; excepting these, and a few similar, which can only affect a very few individuals, the Roman Catholics of Ireland have every privilege and enjoyment of the same as their Protestant fellow-subjects.

III.—PRESBYTERIANS.

ON THE SETTLEMENT OF PRESBYTERIANS IN ULSTER,

And the Grants from the Crown for the Maintenance of their Clergy.

It is admitted that the settlement of Presbyterians in Ulster took place about the year 1610, in consequence of a Legislative encouragement held out to the Scotch, with a view of enabling the old Protestant settlers, chiefly from England, to preserve themselves from the inroads of the natives, whose efforts to throw off the English authority became very alarming.

The Scottish Colony was accompanied by its Ministers, who, by a comprehension and connivance, dictated by the necessity of the times, were put in possession of the tithes of the parishes of which they were ordained Pastors. It does not appear that their title to the tithes was ever strictly legal, but they certainly enjoyed them with the consent of the Bishops, and continued to be *thus* supported until after the death of Charles I., when they were deprived of them by the Commonwealth, because they protested against that most cruel murder, and refused to acknowledge the authority of the new Government. When *Henry* Cromwell came over, he allowed them a salary, in lieu of the tithes, of £100 a-year, though they never could be induced to acknowledge the usurpation of his father, *Oliver*.

At the Restoration, the parishes were all given to Episcopal Ministers, and the Presbyterian Clergy depended solely on the voluntary contributions of the people until some years after, when Charles II., pitying their distresses and remembering their attachment to the constitution in the reign of his father, and their zeal for his own restoration, bestowed upon them £600 a-year, with a promise of a farther grant, which his profuse

habits prevented him from fulfilling. Towards the end of his reign, the payment of this bounty was suspended, and continued to be so during James II. It was restored by King William, and augmented to £1200. It remained thus on the Irish Establishment until the year 1785, when it received a farther addition of £1000 annually. This bounty was confined to the Ministers composing the Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim. About the same period, £500 a-year was granted to the *Seceding Clergy*, a description of dissenters from the Church of Scotland, and who had sent some missionaries into the North of Ireland, about fifty years ago. These, bringing their peculiar tenets with them, drew off a number of followers, chiefly of the lower and most ignorant class, from the old Presbyterians, and now constitute a Seceding Synod, composed of about forty Ministers.

In 1792, the Irish Parliament addressed his Majesty, and prayed he would grant a still farther allowance for the support of the Presbyterian Ministers of Ireland, when an addition of £5000 a year was granted. This last grant extended equally to the Ministers of the Synod, the Seceders, and the Southern Association. This association contains about sixteen congregations, mostly in a declining state at present. Two congregations in Dublin (Strand Street and Eusfon Street) belong to this association, and two (Mary's Abbey and Usher's Quay) belong to the Synod of Ulster. The proportion of the last grant, allotted to the Ministers of the Synod, is 3700 and odd pounds; and their annual dividend, from all the grants, amounts to about thirty pounds.

Besides these grants, issuing from the Irish Treasury, there is one peculiarly honourable to the Presbyterian clergy. It was bestowed by George I. out of the privy purse, as a mark of his approbation of their services in the affair of the Hanoverian succession. It amounts to £800, and is divided in equal moieties between the General Synod and the Southern Association; to the latter it affords about £25 a year; to the former it gives a small dividend of about £2, but highly

prized by the Ministers on account of the principle in which it originated, and still continues to be paid by his Majesty.

OUTLINE OF THE DISCIPLINE AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT OF THE GENERAL SYNOD OF ULSTER.

The great body of the Presbyterians of Ulster, being of Scottish origin, brought with them the principles and discipline of their Church at home, and their descendants in the Synod still continue to regard the Church of Scotland as their model in both. But, though the general resemblance be acknowledged, such differences have gradually taken place as might be expected between a National Church, having a legal sanction for its rules and regulations, and a Voluntary Association assembling under toleration, and whose authority depended entirely on opinion.

All the Presbyterians of Ulster were united under the care of the General Synod, as a supreme Ecclesiastical Court, until the year 1726, when the ministers of the Presbytery of Antrim, entertaining some opinions respecting the authority of the general Synod on the subject of subscription to the Westminster confession of faith, were excluded from the Synod, and formed a distinct church judicatory. This Presbytery, however, still kept up a friendly intercourse with the Synod, and a common interest in the royal bounty, and its ministers always sat as members of the Synod's *interloquitors*, in which matters, purely relating to temporalities, were considered, and in which elders had no vote.

The opinions of the Presbytery of Antrim respecting subscription have gained ground in the Synod; each Presbytery exercises its own discretion, and the subscribing and non-subscribing members live in perfect harmony on this subject.

With respect to the discipline and church government among Presbyterians, in each congregation, the minister and some laymen called Elders compose a Session, which has cognizance of all matters relating to that particular congregation, with a

power to admonish, rebuke, or, finally, to exclude immoral and disorderly members.

From the decisions of the Session, an appeal lies to the Presbytery. This is composed of a number of ministers, with an elder from each congregation. The duty of the Presbytery is to inspect the behaviour of its members, to license candidates for the ministry, after a regular examination into their qualifications, to ordain ministers in vacant congregations, and to hear appeals or references from the Sessions. These Presbyteries are fourteen in number, and commonly meet every three months, unless called oftener on some special business. From the decisions of the Presbyteries, an appeal lies to the sub-Synods; of these, there are three, composed as the Presbyteries are, and having jurisdiction over four or more Presbyteries; and, from their decisions, an appeal lies to the general Synod, which meets annually in June, if no special business calls it oftener.

To this Synod returns are made by the several Presbyteries of the candidates licensed to preach, who are called Probationers, and of the ministers ordained or installed in vacant congregations. It hears appeals, enacts regulations, and exercises a supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters over the Sub-synods, Presbyteries, and congregations under its jurisdiction. It is constituted, as the Presbyteries are, of an equal number of Ministers and Elders, though the latter are not in the habit of attending, except on some very special occasions.

When a congregation becomes vacant from the death or removal of a Minister, it applies to the Presbytery under whose care it is placed for a *hearing*, commonly during four Sundays, of a Probationer, or, it may be, of an ordained Minister, that the people may have an opportunity of judging of his qualifications. After the candidate has fulfilled his appointment, a member of the Presbytery attends, (the congregation having previous notice) and takes the sense by vote of such as pay stipend respecting him. If a competent number vote in his

favour, a *call* is subscribed and put into his hands; he undergoes a course of second trial preparatory to his ordination, if a Probationer, when, if he accepts the call, and the people abide by it, he is ordained (if before ordained he is installed) in the pastoral charge of that congregation.

Formerly, a mere majority of votes decided the choice of a Minister, as in civil elections. But experience showed that great inconvenience flowed from the ascendency which this mode gave to the populace, and the Synod have many years ago settled that no Minister shall be presented with a *call* unless he has two-thirds of votes and two-thirds of stipend in his favour, which is called the *Synodical Majority*.

When this regulation was enacted, it was cheerfully acquiesced in, and its good effects have been acknowledged. It has corrected the democratic tendency of the old system, under which the mere numerical majority often appointed the Minister, in opposition to the wealth and respectability of the congregation.

In discipline, the Presbytery of Antrim observes nearly the same forms with the Synod, and the candidates for the ministry in both are educated, with few exceptions, in the University of Glasgow.

GENERAL SYNOD OF ULSTER.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh.

Londonderry, April 27, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to enclose a list of the Congregations under the care of the Synod of Ulster, in pursuance of the wish which your Lordship expressed to me some time ago. Various causes prevented me from being able sooner to comply with your Lordship's desire; the principal of them was the tardiness with which correspondence can be had with ministers in remote parts of the country little connected with post towns. I had many prejudices to encounter, and much misrepresentation to do away, as uncommon pains had been taken to excite distrust and alarm on this occasion. Ministers were

industriously told that they were to be bribed into a surrender of the independence and constitution of their country. I am happy to find that reason and good sense have predominated, and that the enclosed list is given with the approbation, so far as I know, of every Clergyman named in it, except four; of these, two, to my knowledge, are very worthy men—Dr. Bruce, of Belfast, who complained "that the reasons why ministers were called on to disclose their stipend were not explained," and Mr. Denham, of Enniskillen, who merely declined making any return. Of the other two gentlemen, Dr. M'Dowel and Mr. Horner, of Dublin, I shall say nothing, as I have not been in the habit of approving their public conduct for some time. The Doctor, indeed, wrote me a very abusive letter for my "presuming to interfere in such matters," &c.

I have supplied the deficiency arising from these gentlemen's backwardness from the best information I could procure, and believe that I am tolerably correct.

I find that Mr. Foster's speech has made little impression here; some think it extremely revolutionary, and that he has put arguments into the mouths of Separatists. I acknowledge this is my opinion.

I think it will add to the many melancholy instances, when thousands have been duped by the ambition and intemperance of Parliamentary leaders—hence, Irish wretchedness for the last eleven months; for, however blameable the middle and lower orders have been, I am confident they never would have thought of arraying themselves against the Government, had they not been provoked, encouraged, and headed in their career by the inflammatory harangues made in the two Houses of Parliament on both sides of the water, and that, since the days of Homer, the adage was never more applicable—"delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi."

I have the honour to be, &c.,

ROBERT BLACK.

List of the General Synod of Ulster.—1799.

No.	Congregations.	Counties.	Ministers.	Yearly Stipend.
				£
1	Belfast, 1st	Antrim	Dr. Bruce	200
2	Ditto, 2nd		Patrick Vance	170
3	Ditto, 3rd		Sinclare Kelburn	120
4	Ditto, 4th		Vacant	100 This congregation very unsettled.
5	Carnmoney		John Thompson	55
6	Ballyclare		Foote Marshall	30
7	Antrim, 1st		William Brison	45
8	Ditto, 2nd		Alex. Montgomery	40
9	Aghohill		James Cuming	25
10	Broughshane		Charles Brown	50
11	Ballymena		William Hamilton	67
12	Buckna		David Park	30
13	Connor		Henry Henry	75
14	Cullybacky		Robert Christy	35
15	Clough		Vacant	50
16	Duncan, united with Grange		Robert Scott	30 by both.
17	Portglenone		Alexander Speers	30
18	Randalstown		Thomas Henry	60
19	Ballywollan		Robert Thomson	50
20	Dervock		Alexander Martin	45
21	Billy		Daniel M'Kee	40
22	Dunluce		John Cameron	20
23	Ramoan		William Lynd	30
24	Ardmoy		Hugh M'Clelland	25
25	Ballymoney		Alex. Marshall	70
26	Finvoy		James Elder	40
27	Kilratts		Matthew Elder	50
28	Donegore		John Wright	60
29	Ballyeaston		Wm. Montgomery	50
30	Ballycarry		John Bankhead	60
31	Carrickfergus		John Savage	75
32	Ballynure		Adam Hill	40
33	Killead		Robert Orr	60
34	Larne, 1st		James Worral	70
35	Ditto, 2nd		Robert Thomson	45
36	Island Magee		John Murphy	35
37	Glenarm		Robert Acheson	40
38	Carncastle		Thomas Alexander	42

No.	Congregations.	Counties.	Ministers.	Yearly Stipend.
				£
39	Crumlin	Antrim	Vacant	50
40	Templepatrick		Robert Campbell	57
41	Ballinderry		William Whitlaw	20
42	Lisburn		Andrew Craig	80
43	Armagh	Armagh	Thomas Cuming	116
44	Creggan and Newtown Hamilton, united		Joseph Jackson	40 by both.
45	Drumbanagher		Alex. Patterson	35
46	Mountnorris		Francis Turretine	35
47	Lurgan		William Magee	30
48	Clare		Samuel Livingston	60
49	Markethill		William Charlton	45
50	Loughgall		Moses Hogg	30
51	Ready		Vacant	50
52	Richhill and Vinecash, united		Thomas Reid	30 by both.
53	Lisluney		Vacant	40
54	Derry	Derry	David Young and	120
			Robert Black	120 to each.
55	Glendermot, 1st		Henry Millar	40
56	Ditto, 2nd		Vacant	50
57	Cumber		Samuel Patten	40
58	Banagher		John Law	20
59	Bovevagh		Francis Gray	45
60	Screegan		Joseph Osborne	40
61	Coleraine, 1st		John Culbert	60
62	Ditto, 2nd		John Glasco	70
63	Faughan Vale		Henry Elder	40
64	N. T. Lamavady		Joseph Osborne	30
65	Tubbermore		——— Carson	60
66	Moneymore		William Moore	60
67	Castle Dawson		Robert Henry	35
68	Drumbo		William Knox	36
69	Belbraghane		John Loggan	23
70	Ballykelly		Robert Rentoul	70
71	Drumachose		Daniel Blair	50
72	Aghadowey		Archibald Fullarton	40
73	Kilrea		Vacant	30
74	Garvagh		James Brown	45
75	Maghera		Vacant	50
76	Macosquin		James M'Farland	40
77	Moville	Donegal	Robert Caldwell	15

No.	Congregations.	Counties.	Ministers.	Yearly Stipend.
				£
78	Donagh	Donegal	Robert Scott	18
79	Malin		John Canning	30
80	Fahan and Bumcranna, united		William Hamilton	30 by both.
81	Burt		Hugh Brooke	55
82	Taugh Coyne		Vacant	30
83	St. Johnston		Wm. Cunningham	70
84	Knowhead		Richard Dill	45
85	Stranorlan		Joseph Love	45
86	Convoy		James Taylor	45
87	Donaghmore		Samuel Dill	55
88	Lifford		Charles Hewston	50
89	Raphoe		William Ramsay	45
90	Ray		Francis Dill	35
91	Letterkenny		Joseph Lyttle	55
92	Ramelton		William Burke	50
93	Fanet		James Delap	40
94	Dumfanaghey and Kilmacrannan, united		David Allen	34 by both.
95	Donegal and Ballyshannon, united		William Huston	40 by both.
96	Douglas and Clady, united	Tyrone	Thomas Leitch	40 by both
97	Downpatrick	Down	James Neilson	65
98	Moneyrea		Samuel Patten	60
99	Castlereagh		Alexander Henry	50
100	Millisle		Andrew Greer	40
101	Kirkcubbin		George Brydone	50
102	Holywood, 1st		William Crawford	36
103	Ditto 2nd		Joseph Harrison	50
104	Drumbo		Samuel Hanna	70
105	Newtownards, 1st		John M'Ilwaine	70 including Lord Londonderry's Grant, valued at 30 Guineas per annum.
106	Ditto, 2nd		Vacant	60
107	Killinchy		Samuel Watson	70
108	Saintfield		Vacant	70
109	Dramara		James Birch	70
110	Dromore, 1st		James Bankhead	80
111	Ditto, 2nd		James Waddel	60

No.	Congregations.	Counties.	Ministers.	Yearly Stipend.
				£
112	Annahilt	Down	Robert McClure	50
113	Killyleagh		Joseph Little	63
114	Donaghmore		Joseph Hay	60
115	Magherewly		Isaac Patrick	45
116	Rathfryland		Samuel Barber	50
117	Ballynahinch		John M'Clelland	55
118	Cumber		John M'Cance	65
119	Ballyroney		William Fletcher	60
120	Mourne		Moses Thomson	50
121	Loughbrickland		John Smith	60
122	Tullilish		John Sherrard	60
123	Dundonald		James Caldwell	50
124	Glastry		James Sinclair	50
125	Ballywalter		James Cochran	40
126	Bangor		David Taggart	75
127	Grayabbey		Vacant	40
128	Donaghadee		Vacant	50
129	Ballee		—— Kerr	50
130	Moira		John Wightman	20
131	Portaferry		Vacant	80
132	Clough		Robert Porter	50
133	Kilmore		Moses Neilson	50
134	Banbridge		Nathaniel Shaw	80
135	Newry		Vacant	140
136	Narrowater, united with Carlingford		Robert Dickson	21 by both.
137	Dunmurry		William Taggart	60
138	Usher's Quay	Dublin	William Wilson and Hugh Moore	117 to each.
139	Mary's Abbey		Ben. M'Dowel and James Horner	250 or thereabout to both.
140	Bally James Duff	Cavan	James Kennedy	25
141	Killishandra		Vacant	50
142	Cootehill		Thomas Stewart	20
143	Balieborough		Robert Montgomery	20
144	Enniskillen	Fermanagh	Joseph Denham	40
145	Dundalk	Louth	William Neilson	30
146	Ervey, united with Carrickmaclin	Meath	William Moore	35 by both.
147	Mayo	Mayo	Alexander Marshall	30
148	Corboy	Longford	Vacant	50
149	Monaghan	Monaghan	Matthew Trimble	40
150	Ballybay		Vacant	60

No.	Congregations.	Counties.	Ministers.	Yearly Stipend.
				£
151	Castleblayney	Monaghan	John Davies	40
152	Stonebridge		James Whiteside	36
153	Glennan		James M'Curdy	25
154	Clentubrit		James Goudy	30
155	Drum		James Walker	15
156	Omagh, 1st	Tyrone	Robert Nelson	30
157	Omagh, 2nd		Hugh Delap	50
158	Donaghedy, 1st		Hugh Hamill	45
159	Ardstraw		Robert Clark	50
160	Drumquin, united with Pettigo		Thomas Anderson	40 by both.
161	Badony		Charles Hemphill	40
162	Derg		James Henderson	40
163	Strabane		William Dunlop	105
164	Carlan		William Kennedy	40
165	Benburb		James Whiteside	40
166	Dungannon		William Slitt	47
167	Munterburn		Charles Boylan	40
168	Magherafelt		George Dugall	60
169	Brigh		Thomas M'Kay	57
170	Stewartstown		James Adams	50
171	Cookstown		—— Davison	60
172	Coagh		Vacant	40
173	Fintona, united with Dromore		William Moorhead	35 by both.
174	Aughnacloy, united with Ballygawly		James Davison	65 by both.
175	Clogherney		James Kerr	40
176	Carntall		Andrew Millar	50
177	Cavanaleck		William Johnston	40
178	Donaghedy, 2nd		John Holmes	50
179	Urney		Andrew Alexander	50
180	Crossroads		James M'Clintock	45
181	Sligo, united with Ballymote	Sligo	Booth Caldwell	30 by both.
182	Turlough	Mayo	James Hall	30
183	Stratford	Wicklow	Unsettled	—

In the foregoing list, where two Congregations are under the care of one Minister, they are placed to one number; reckoned

separately, the Congregations amount to 198, in three of which there are two Ministers in each. The number of vacancies are at this period unusually great, owing to the unfortunate circumstances of last summer. If all were filled up, the number of officiating Ministers would be 186; and there are seven superannuated Clergymen to whom, on account of their age and infirmities, the Synod grants a full portion of the Royal Donation. For the perfect accuracy in every item of the Stipend list I do not vouch, but of its general correctness I am well satisfied, and if there be errors they will consist in rating the stipend above rather than below what the Ministers actually receive. But in no instance can the error amount to more than a very few pounds.

ROBERT BLACK.

PLAN FOR STRENGTHENING THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF ULSTER,

for rendering the Ministers of the Synod more independent of popular caprices and the arts of factious members of their Congregation, for enabling them to apply more diligently to their Ministerial Duties, and for inducing young Men in a decent station to devote themselves to the Ministry in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.

It is proposed:

That a King's Commissioner shall sit in the Meetings of the General Synod of Ulster in the same manner as in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The Commissioner to be a Presbyterian. That the proceedings in the Synod, Presbyteries, and Sessions, shall be governed by the regulations heretofore established, or hereafter to be adopted by the General Synod, according to the usages of that body.

That, before a Minister shall be appointed to the pastoral charge of any Congregation, he must be approved of by

Government, in order to his being entitled to a share of the Royal Bounty.

That the Congregations in the Synod of Ulster shall be divided into three classes.

The first class, containing about fifteen Ministers in the cities and large towns, to receive from one to two hundred pounds per annum.

The second class, containing about seventy Ministers in the more populous Congregations, to receive eighty pounds per annum.

The third class, containing about one hundred Ministers, to receive sixty pounds per annum.

These quotas to be paid by an agent chosen by the Synod subject to the approbation of Government, giving satisfactory security, having fixed fees, and liable to be removed for negligence or misconduct.

That, when a Minister shall be suspended or deposed, according to the discipline and regulations of the Synod, his title to the Royal Bounty shall cease.

To effect the above distribution will require an addition to the Bounty at present enjoyed by the Synod of about £8,500 per annum. The distribution to be nearly thus:—

Royal Bounty as it now stands on the Irish Establishment in round numbers		£5,900
Proposed addition		8,500
		£14,400
Deduct for sundry charges at the Treasury, Agent's fees, at £2½ per cent., Salary to the Synod's Clerk, £30 per annum, amounting in all to about £850		850
Remains nett to be distributed		13,550
To the first class, 15 Ministers, about	£2,000	
To the second, do., 70 " at	£80, 5,600	
To the third do., 100 " at	£60, 6,000	£13,600
	Deficit	50

But as there are always vacancies between the death or removal of one Minister and the appointment of his successor, instead of a *deficit* there will ever be a surplus in the hands of the Agent, which surplus, after paying any incidental expences attending the meeting of the Synod, it is proposed should be annually added to the Fund for Supporting the Clergymen's Widows and Orphans.

That the Synod should be invested with the necessary powers for managing the above Fund, the capital of which amounts at present to £13,500, and affords, together with an Annual Subscription from the Ministers, a small Annuity to their Widows and Orphans of £15.

That a College be established in the Province of Ulster accessible to Presbyterian Students, and including a certain proportion of Presbyterian Trustees and Professors, particularly in Divinity and Moral Philosophy. The Crown to appoint Visitors, with powers similar to those exercised in the College of Dublin.

February 5, 1799.

IV.—TRADE, COMMERCE, REVENUE, &c.

QUANTITY OF BEER, ALE, AND SPIRITS, MADE IN IRELAND.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Castlereagh.

November 5, 1799.

My dear Lord—In the hurry in which I drew up the statement which I lately sent you of the quantity of Beer, and Ale, and Spirits, brewed and distilled in Ireland in the last eight years, I find that I was guilty of a great mistake, for I computed that for every barrel of Malt brewed there was a produce of two barrels of Beer, which I estimated one-third at £1 10*s.* and two-thirds at £1 3*s.*, not adverting that the two barrels of Beer produced for one barrel of Malt contained only 32 gallons each, and that the price of £1 10*s.* and £1 3*s.* for Beer and Ale was on the brewer's barrel containing 42 gallons. I have much overstated the numbers of barrels of Beer and Ale produced, and of course the value. I must, therefore, request you to accept the present computations in the place of the former.

Upon reflection I also think that I estimated the Spirits too high. I think 7*s.* 6*d.* to be about the present price. I think also that 5*s.* was a good price for them during the whole of the first four years and for two of the last four, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for the third, and 7*s.* 6*d.* for the four years of the second period. I have therefore, in the present valuation, estimated the first four years at 5*s.* a gallon, and the last four years at 6*s.* in round numbers.

On these principles I shall proceed in the present statements. I showed you, in my former paper, that the number of barrels of Malt which paid duty in the first period of four years to 1795, were, 4,935,299, and that the number used in distilling

and brewing were only 3,808,680, and that there remained barrels of Malt unaccounted for 1,126,619. This quantity which paid duty as Malt, but does not appear to have paid duty either in Beer or Spirits, was certainly used either in the one or the other, and ought therefore to be taken into account in any computation of the real quantities of Beer and Spirits made in this period. In order to apportion what part of this Malt should be allotted to Spirits and what to Beer, I have computed the proportion of Malt which appears by the Custom House books to have been consumed in the making of Spirits and of Beer, and I find that the barrels of Malt consumed in

Spirits amounts to..... 2,525,819
And in Beer to..... 1,282,861.

So that it appears that of the whole quantity of Malt which paid duty two-thirds was distilled and one-third brewed. I shall therefore allot to Spirits two-thirds and to Beer one-third of the Malt unaccounted for, which will reduce the whole matter to this principle, that of the Malt which paid duty, viz., 4,935,299 barrels, two-thirds was distilled and one-third brewed.

Having established this principle, I shall proceed to calculate upon it the quantities of Spirits and Beer made in Ireland in each of the two periods of four years; the first to 1795, and the latter to 1799, and I shall value the quantities at the prices above stated.

In the first period of four years to 1795,

The number of barrels of malt which paid duty were	4,935,299
Of which the distillery consumed two-thirds, or...	3,290,199
Which, at six gallons of spirit to each barrel of malt, produced gallons	19,741,194
19,741,194 gallons of spirits at 5*s.* per gallon, produced	£4,935,299
The average quantity of spirits made each year ...	4,935,299
The average value of spirits in each year.....	£1,233,824

In the same period, the quantity of malt consumed in the brewery being one-third of 4,935,299 barrels, was	1,645,099
This quantity, at a barrel and a half of beer to each barrel of malt, estimating the barrel of beer at 42 gallons, which is the quantity which the brewer sells at £1 10*s.* and £1 3*s.* per barrel, will produce in barrels	2,467,648
Of this quantity, estimating one-third as strong beer, and two-thirds as ale, the number of barrels of strong beer will be	822,549
And the value of these, at £1 10*s.*, will be	£1,233,823
Quantity of ale brewed, or two-thirds of 2,467,648 barrels	1,645,099
The value of which, at £1 3*s.*, will be	£1,891,863
The total value of beer and ale brewed in the first period	£3,125,686
The average number of barrels of beer and ale brewed in each year	616,912
The average value of beer and ale brewed in each year	£781,421
In the second period of four years to 1799,	
The number of barrels of malt which paid duty were	4,774,712
Of which there was consumed in the distillery two-thirds, or	3,183,140
Which produced gallons of spirits	19,098,840
The value of which, at 6*s.* per gallon, amounts to	£5,529,652
The average quantity of spirits made each year	4,774,712
The average value of spirits in each year	£1,382,413
In the same period, the number of barrels of malt used in beer were	1,591,570
The number of barrels of beer, of 42 gallons each, produced from this quantity	2,387,355

The number of barrels of strong beer sold at £1 10*s*. 795,785
The value of which is £1,193,677
The number of barrels of ale sold at £1 3*s*. 1,591,570
The value of which is £1,830,305
Total value of beer brewed in the second period ... £3,023,982
Average number of barrels of beer in each year ... 596,838
Average value of beer brewed in each year £755,995

First Period.

The total value of spirits in this period was £4,935,299
The total value of beer in the same period was ... £3,125,686

Total value of both £8,060,985
Annual average value of both £2,015,246

Second Period.

In this period the total value of spirits was..... £5,529,652
And the total value of beer £3,023,982

Total value of both £8,553,634
Average value of both £2,138,408

This is the best calculation I can make of the latter period.

I am, my dear Lord, yours, &c.,

J. BERESFORD.

REVENUE OF IRELAND.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Beresford to Mr. Cooke.

November 27, 1799.

The Treasury receipts for the last half year appear to be about £1,500,000. The gross revenue was so much more as the management, including bounties and parliamentary payments, amounted to. Of these payments one is certainly to be repaid, which amounts to a considerable sum—the payment to seamen's orders. Add the amount; and you never had, except for one or two years, so large a revenue in the whole year as you had in this half year; and, contrary to all appearances, the increase goes on through this quarter, so that I think the gross revenue will clearly be above £3,000,000.

Mr. Irving insisted that our system must reduce the Irish revenue above £200,000; but on a conference, he forgot to deduct the following articles, which will still pay:

Beer	£11,914
Coals	23,389
Cottons	12,357
Drapery	29,430
Earthenware	2,000
Glass	3,000
Hops	27,435
Hosiery	3,000
Iron and hardware	5,000
Rock salt	21,488
White salt	11,401
Loaf sugar	18,321
6 per cent	6,200
	174,935
The total average revenue on British goods for 3 years	210,404
	174,935
	35,469
Add the Absentee Tax, which must be given up, say	15,000
	40,469[1]
Loss on British Imports, as above	35,469
Ditto on Irish Exports, say	40,000
Ditto on Absentee Tax	15,000
Total loss, as I conjecture	90,469

Irving still says it will be £72,000 without the Absentee Tax—it may be so; but, if the whole was, as he states,

[1] Mr. Beresford has made an error in this amount, which should be £50,469.

£210,404, I do not see how he will make it out. I take for granted his total is right, and the amount of exceptions I took from his own account.

Now, to counterbalance this, will be coals, £17,725, and what you hint at, and which I have repeatedly mentioned, viz., the drawing back the whole duties in England, and laying on the amount of the half subsidy in Ireland, which I have mentioned to Auckland, and will have stated in writing. By this you will see the policy of Ireland in allowing colony goods to come, paying half custom, and foreign goods one-third subsidy, if imported through England; or, to make it short, the policy was to make goods come into each kingdom upon the same duties. The Act of Customs was passed in England two years, I think, before the Irish Act. By this Act, the half custom on colony goods, and the one-third subsidy on foreign goods, was retained in England on re-exportation to all parts.

The Irish Act, therefore, suffered these goods to come into Ireland through England at so much less duty as was retained in England. By this means England has ever since raised the amount of this retention on Ireland, and, as in the coal duty, upon the same principle it ought to be given up in England, and levied in Ireland.

THE SPEAKER'S IDEAS CONCERNING A COMMERCIAL ARRANGEMENT.

The Speaker told me in London that, in conversation between him and Mr. Pitt, or Mr. Dundas (I forget which), as to the commercial arrangements of Ireland, it was suggested that the principle to adopt would be that of the French treaty, as a principle of equitable adjustment of the commerce of two independent countries: to this the Speaker told me he had answered No; for that it was notorious Lord Auckland had overreached the French ministry; but that, if a Union were to take place, the propositions of 1785 should be

taken as the basis of the commercial arrangement, as the objections in Ireland to the propositions were only on the score of the constitution, and not on any inequality of arrangement.

If the propositions be adopted as the basis, the tables were at that time all formed; I believe Lord Auckland has copies of them in England. If any other basis be adopted, it will meet with great opposition here, and I do not see why England should wish any other. Adopting the propositions will here pin the Speaker on his own argument, and seems to me to be the best.

Until some particular principle or basis be adopted, forming tables (without some particular point to prove) will probably be vague. R. J.

IMPORTED ARTICLES, TO BE SUBJECTED TO DUTIES IN THE TRADE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Articles.	Protecting.	Countervailing.	Import Duty not Equalised.	Excise Duty to be raised in Ireland.
Apparel	10 per cent.	——	—	—
Bricks and Tiles.	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Beer	10 per cent.	Countervailed.	—	—
Brass wrought. .	10 per cent.	——	—	—
Cottons.	10 per cent.	Countervailed.	—	—
Coals	—	——	Duty in Ireland open.	—
Coaches.	—	——	—	—
Copper wrought.	10 per cent.	——	—	—
Cards and Dice .	—	——	—	Raised.
Candles	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Cordage	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Cider and Perry .	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Earthenware . .	10 per cent.	——	—	—
Glass	10 per cent.	Countervailed.	—	—
Haberdashery . .	10 per cent.	——	—	—
Hops	—	Countervailed.	Duty in Ireland open.	—
Hats	10 per cent.	Countervailed.	—	—

Imported Articles—CONTINUED.

Articles.	Protecting.	Countervailing.	Import Duty not Equalised.	Excise Duty to be raised in Ireland.
Iron, bar	—	——	To remain as now, lower in Ireland.	—
— wrought . .	10 per cent.	Countervailed.	—	—
Leather, tanned .	—	Countervailed.	—	—
— manufactured	10 per cent.	Countervailed.	—	—
Lace, Gold and Silver	10 per cent.	——	—	—
Millinery	10 per cent.	——	—	—
Paper	—	——	—	Raised in Ireland. Books bound.
— stained . .	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Salt	—	——	Duty in Ireland open.	—
Silk	10 per cent.	Countervailed.	Lower in Ireland.	—
Starch	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Spirits	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Soap	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Sweets	—	Countervailed.	—	—
Tobacco	—	Countervailed.	Duty in Ireland open.	—
Tea	—	——	—	—
Wines	—	——	Duty in Ireland open.	—
Woollens	Old Duties.	——	—	—
Miscellaneous Articles . . .	—	——	—	—

Coaches to be reduced in England to the present duty in Ireland.

Hops exception to open trade.

Salt exception to open trade.

Memorandum.—The half customs on colonial goods, if any now remains not drawn back on export, and the one-third on foreign articles exported from Great Britain to Ireland which remains not drawn back, to be fully drawn back hereafter.

The Principle of Open Trade between the two Countries.

In the system for opening the trade between the two countries, free from duties above 10 per cent. on the value, an exception is to be made of certain articles, as coals, salt, hops, &c. No complaint can arise from the one country laying duties on importation from the other of articles of prime necessity which are not produced at home, so long as the like articles are not importable on lower duties from any other place, inasmuch as the demand for articles of prime necessity cannot by such duties be materially diminished to the prejudice of the country producing them.

ON COMMERCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Mr. Irving to Lord Auckland.

Middle Scotland Yard, October 31, 1799.

My Lord—The commercial part of the arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland, now under investigation, it appears to me, will be best considered under two distinct heads:

1. Under the head of the products or manufactures of each country reciprocally exchanged in the way of trade, together with the duties chargeable and the bounties payable thereon on importation and exportation.

2. Under the head of foreign merchandize imported and exported, with the duties chargeable and the drawbacks payable thereon.

With respect to the first head, Great Britain collects upon her coals, and alum, and some other articles, a revenue of about £23,000; and secondly, on the importation of Irish products into Great Britain, about £2000, making in all about £25,000.

Ireland collects a revenue from the consumption of this country of about £50,000 on her products and manufactures exported to Great Britain, £5000 on articles exported to the British colonies, and about £250,000 on the importation of British manufactures, making in all about £305,000.

Ireland ought to give up the duty which she collects on her provisions and other articles exported to Great Britain and the colonies, and England in return should repeal the duties on coals, alum, &c., exported from hence. Ireland might be allowed to add to her present import duty on coals the sum which we collect on that article outwards, the produce of which would be a substitute to the amount of about £18,000 for the revenue which she would lose by relinquishing her export duties. The increase thus created on the rate of duty on coals imported into Ireland would operate as a countervailing principle on the duty imposed on coals carried coastwise and consumed in this kingdom, amounting to upwards of £550,000 a-year.

It has already been observed that Ireland collects a revenue of £25,000 on the manufactures of this country. These duties ought to be repealed, except in those cases wherein the Irish wish to retain a protecting duty on their own manufactures. This protecting duty should not in any case exceed 10 per cent., because, in point of sound policy, no country ought to prosecute any object of trade or manufactures which, after a fair trial, they find cannot stand the competition at a lower protection than that of 10 per cent.

The articles on which I understand Ireland requires a protecting duty are beer, cotton manufactures, earthen and glass ware, and on woollens, the latter to remain at the present duties. Great Britain will of course expect a reciprocal protection on these articles, though, in truth, she has little cause to dread a rivalship from Ireland. Both kingdoms levy an internal excise on certain articles, and also, in some cases, on foreign merchandize imported. The excise ought to be countervailed by a duty attaching on importation from the one kingdom into the other, equal to the rate of excise chargeable on similar articles consumed in the country into which the goods are imported.

It has been the policy of the British Government to encou-

rage the native growth, produce, or manufactures of certain articles, by granting a bounty on the exportation of these: the principal are corn and linens of various descriptions. In order to extend the fisheries, with a view of promoting our marine resources, bounties are also granted on certain branches of our fisheries. The bounties on silk manufactures, refined sugar, cordage, &c., are to be considered merely as drawbacks of the duty collected on the raw material. The bounties and allowances payable by the excise on exportation, are likewise chiefly granted on the principle of drawing back the duty collected in the first instance. The bounties granted in Ireland on exportation are upon much the same articles as those of this kingdom, viz., on linens, manufactures of silk, refined sugar, &c. The bounties of both kingdoms ought to be put exactly upon the same footing, and, as far as I am enabled to form an opinion of the subject, no objection whatever can be offered on the part of Ireland against this measure.

I now come to the commercial intercourse in foreign goods between the two countries.

The whole of the articles subject to a duty on importation in Great Britain amount to about 1600, of which about 250, on a medium of the last three years, have produced a revenue of £500 and upwards on each. The revenue arising from articles which produce under £500 each cannot be estimated at more than £30,000 or £40,000 throughout all Great Britain.

Ireland imports only a few foreign or colonial articles, viz., pepper, lemons and oranges, salt, raw silk, tea, deals, tobacco, wines, spirits, sugar, coffee, and rum, which produce a revenue of £500 each. By an act of her own legislature, she is bound to impose the same rate of duty as is chargeable in Great Britain on all colonial articles imported; the list is therefore reduced to four or five articles. The duties on all those articles that do not produce a revenue of £500 on each, ought to be increased to the rate of the British duties. No man in that country can reasonably complain of such increase of rate, when

he reflects that on the consumption of the whole kingdom so small a sum is raised. But, in truth, very few of those articles which in Great Britain are less than £500 revenue, yield in Ireland more than £5 or £10.

In order to render the system as simple as possible, and to prevent those delays and heavy expences often incurred in obtaining drawbacks, I would take the liberty of proposing that the duty should be retained in the country into which the goods are first imported, and that the other country to which they are exported should have credit to the amount thereof. In the case of four or five articles, already enumerated, wherein the rate of duty is higher in England than in Ireland, a drawback would be paid to the exporter from hence, equal to the difference between the British and Irish duties. In all cases, such as tobacco and other articles warehoused, and upon which either a small or no part of the duty is chargeable until they are delivered out for home consumption, all except the warehousing duty (should any warehousing duty be retained) would be collected on importation to Ireland.

Ireland could have no objection to the plan of retaining the duties in the country into which the goods were first imported, as very few foreign articles are imported into this kingdom through the medium of Ireland, whereas the Irish receive the chief supply of their foreign articles from hence, consequently the Irish trader will reap the advantage of having the duty advanced by the British merchant.

Regard should be had in the present arrangement with Ireland to the warehousing system, which has been lately adopted, and which, as soon as docks and warehouses can be prepared, will be extended to all articles of any consequence.

Thus, my dear Lord, I have, in the preceding pages hastily thrown together, taken the liberty of submitting my ideas on the general outlines of the commercial arrangement between this kingdom and Ireland. I have the honour to be, &c.,

THOMAS IRVING.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMERCIAL ARTICLE (6).

The system is founded on the same principles as the propositions offered to Parliament in 1785, and therefore it will be sufficient to state the outline. It goes beyond the propositions, in advantage to Ireland, in some material points. The propositions were commercially approved by the House; the objection was on constitutional grounds. The object is to open the intercourse as much as possible, and it is to be lamented that the two countries cannot be at once so completely made one as that the Counties of Ireland should be like so many English Counties, and commerce be as free as within the same kingdom, owing to two obstacles, inequality of burdens, necessitating separate treasuries, and countervailing duties.

Protecting Duties for Ireland.

Perfect freedom of trade being an object to contend for, the exceptions to it ought to be as few as circumstances will admit, and the departure ought to cease as soon as the necessity ceases.

The Article consists of six sections, viz.:—

1. The subjects and produce of either country are placed on an equal footing, as to encouragements and bounties. This secures British bounties on Irish linens, sail-cloth, exported for the Navy and merchant-ships.

2. All prohibitions and bounties to cease; and a perfect free export (corn excepted) gives Ireland all her raw materials, coal, bark, hops, tin, salt, alum, wool. England takes off the duty on salt and coals, also her prohibition from wool. Ireland takes off her duty on cattle, hides, contract wool, and linen.

3. Free import, except in the enumerated articles which have been selected as those upon which Ireland would require protective duty, to continue twenty years, the rate to be 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, or less, where the duty is now less. This

secures to England for ever the perpetual free entry of her linens and provisions.

Provisions	2,099,261
Linens	2,600,000
	£4,699,261

It also opens the English market to Irish goods.

4. The countervailing duties are merely to equalize with the internal duty paid on the same articles.

5. Goods of either country to be exported to the other, as if direct.

6. Foreign or Colonial goods to be imported through either country to the other, as if direct.

Transit Trade.	£	*Effect on the Revenue.*	£
Loss on Imports ...	32,398	Coals	17,000
Do. on Exportation	44,000	Equalization	7,166
		East India	58,000
	76,398		82,166

Notes on the Commercial Article (6), *by Lord Castlereagh.*

1. Places the subjects and produce of either country on an equal footing as to encouragements, bounties, treaties, &c.

2. All prohibitions and bounties to cease, and a perfectly free export from one country to the other (corn excepted).

3. Free import, except on the seventeen articles enumerated in Schedule.

4. Provides for the countervailing duty and drawback; a drawback to be given where a countervailing duty is taken, and for varying the same, vide 5.

5. No duty to be retained on Foreign or Colonial goods passing through either country to the other.

6. Goods of either country to be exported from the other, subject to the same charges as if exported directly.

The system relates merely to the trade between the two

countries; the Foreign and Colonial Trade will stand as at present. The goods, Foreign or Colonial, passing through either country, will draw back all duty, (half custom and subsidy included), and enter as if imported directly. It follows the principle of the commercial propositions which were approved commercially, and lost upon the constitutional question. It would be most desirable, so soon as the Union shall take place, that the two countries should stand as if they never had been separate; that the Counties of Ireland should be like so many English Counties, that goods should pass from the one to the other without interruption. This, rendered impracticable, in the first instance, by the unequal burthens of the two countries, this causes unequal excise, which requires to be countervailed. Also, so long as the countries have separate Treasuries, it is reasonable that the consuming country should levy the duty on the article, and not the exporting country, as then the article is sent out free: it must pay, on entry, a duty equal to any internal duty levied on the like article in the country importing it; the necessity for countervailing duties, were no duties drawn back, would be confined to England; but, as internal duty is to be drawn back, Ireland will also require it.

Another obstacle to a perfectly free intercourse arises in this kingdom from the inferiority of many of our manufactures, which have been in the habit of receiving and still require a protecting duty. British manufactures could altogether dispense with this; but, as the duties are to be equalized between the two countries, whatever, in the nature of protection, Ireland requires, must be laid on in England.

Such are the present obstacles to a perfect freedom of intercourse, but time may remove the necessity by removing the cause. An equalization of internal duties in a common instead of a separate Treasury, would render countervailing duties altogether unnecessary, and the progress of Irish manufactures may diminish, if not remove, the necessity for protecting duties.

If perfect freedom of trade is an object to contend for, it is plain that as few articles as possible should be left subject to duty on import, and a period ought to be fixed for revising these duties, and either diminishing or altogether abolishing them as soon as the respective circumstances of the two countries may justify it. Twenty years is fixed for this purpose.

It is also an object that the quantum of duty should not be greater in amount than is absolutely necessary; it is, therefore, provided that it shall, in no case, exceed 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, which must be admitted, with freight, &c., to be the utmost protection that ought to be granted, and where the duty is now lower, that it should not hereafter be raised. The effect of this system is as follows:—

Article 1 secures to Irish subjects and to Irish produce every advantage that British goods or British subjects enjoy; it gives to Ireland the full benefit of her sail-cloth export, which will then be used by the navy and merchant ships of Great Britain, and secure for ever bounty on Irish linens.

No. 2 secures to Ireland all the valuable raw materials she now receives from England, viz., coals, hops, salt, tin, alum, bark, even on terms more favourable than she now receives them, as coals will then be exported duty free, which now pay one shilling and threepence. Ireland in return gives all her duty on live cattle and hides, the produce of which duties will be compensated by transfer of the coal duty. But the most important advantage to Ireland will be getting wool from England. This gives more means than she ever had of being a woollen country. England gives her this without recalling any of her protection given to her linens. Here Ireland has not one trade secured on a supposed compact of giving up another, but both secured to her for ever, it being indifferent where the wealth settles, so it is within a United Kingdom. Let it, then, be remembered that Ireland, in addition to the full recovery of the means of prosecuting the woollen trade,

secures to her linens for ever the full advantages of the British market, which, at this moment, is given at an expense of nearly one million sterling per annum.

No. 3. Provides for perfect free import, with the exception of 17 articles, which are to pay specific duties. This secures to Ireland for ever the free entry of her linens and provisions into England. The Irish Market is not materially opened to British goods; as the great articles, such as drapery, hardware, cottons, earthenware, tea, continue at 10 per cent., or at the present duties, if lower. It takes away all the English prohibitions and prohibitory duties, and gives Ireland the English Market on woollens and all other goods on equal duties with our own.

Comparative Statement of Exports and Imports.[1]

	Ireland.	Great Britain.
Exports	5,650,853	31,272,865
Imports	5,275,063	42,688,534
	£10,925,916	£73,961,299

Proportion about 7 to 1.

Comparative Statement of Consumption in seven articles.

Irish ... £5,954,856 British .. £46,891,655

Proportion, $7\frac{7}{8}$ to 1.

Comparative Value of British and Irish Commerce in 1798.

	Great Britain.
Total Imports.....	£47,000,000
Total Exports.....	48,000,000
	£95,000,000 real value.

[1] From the greatly inferior amounts assigned in this Statement to the Exports and Imports, I conclude that they must belong to an earlier year than those given in the next article.

Deduct	Value of Foreign Merchandize exported	£14,400,000
	Value of the same Merchandize included in our list of Imports	14,400,000
		£28,800,000

£95,000,000	
Deduct 28,800,000	
£66,200,000	real value of British Commerce.

1798. Ireland.
£11,000,000

Comparative Consumption of Great Britain and Ireland.

Peace.		Proportion.
England	£6,856,054	nearly as 6½.
Ireland.....	1,049,048	
War.		
England.....	£27,450,649	nearly as 9.
Ireland	3,076,651	
1 year of Peace and 1 year of War.		
England.....	£34,306,703	nearly as 8½.
Ireland	4,125,699	
3 years of Peace and 2 years of War.		
England..... ...	£75,479,460	nearly as 8⅓.
Ireland	9,300,446	
Present War Expense.		
Great Britain	£28,500,000	
Ireland	5,500,000	5,893,323.
Total.....	£34,000,000	
	Same in proportion of 7½ to 1.	
Great Britain	£30,000,000	
Ireland	4,000,000	
Saving to Ireland	1,500,000	

On an Average of the last 4 years.

Great Britain	£28,000,000	
Ireland	4,690,000	5,081,451
Total.....	£32,690,000	

In proportion of 7½ to 1.

Great Britain	£28,852,766
Ireland	3,846,234

Saving to Ireland £852,766

Peace Establishment.

Great Britain	£7,500,000
Ireland	1,500,000
	£9,000,000

Proportion of 7½ to 1.

Great Britain	£71,950,000
Ireland	1,050,000

Saving to Ireland £450,000.

Cattle	£144,450	
Horses.....	13,610	
Swine.....	10,182	
Bacon.....	106,056	
Beef.....	*388,522*	*Provisions.*
Butter	784,654	
Pork	674,981	
	£2,122,455	

Linens	£2,600,000
Yarn	243,981

CONSUMPTION OF IRELAND.

Eccles Street, Friday, four o'clock.

Sir—Enclosed is a *hasty* sketch of the account you wished for; it is drawn out in such a manner, as to show those values upon which the original Account furnished by Lord Castlereagh was grounded. I have the honour, &c.,

SAMUEL WALKER.

PS. The enclosed Account might perhaps be useful to the Inspector-General in making out that Account, which is to be laid before Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities and Value (according to the Market Price) of the following Articles, consumed in Ireland annually, on an average of three years, ending March 25, 1799.

Denominations.	Quantity.	Rate of Value, at the Market price, on an average of three years, ending 1799.			Value.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Malt	4,771,796 bush.	0	4	7 ℔ bush.	1,093,536	11	8
Porter and Strong Beer	571,042 barls.	1	18	0 ℔ bar.	1,084,979	16	0
Small, or Table Beer	211,496 ditto	0	13	6 ditto	142,759	16	0
Private Brewery, not ascertained.							
Brandy	4,494 galls.	0	11	6 ℔ gal.	2,584	1	0
Geneva	2,785 ditto	0	11	9 ditto	1,636	3	9
Rum	102,293 ditto	0	10	0 ditto	51,146	10	0
Irish Spirits, or Waters	4,301,438 ditto	0	5	3 ditto	1,129,127	9	6
Black Tea	2,417,627 lb wt.	0	4	7 ℔ lb.	554,039	10	5
Green Tea	172,644 ditto	0	5	4 ditto	46,038	8	0
Wines, French	149 tons	130	0	0 ℔ ton	19,370	0	0
——— Port	3,908 ditto	90	0	0 ditto	351,720	0	0
——— Madeira	22 ditto	120	0	0 ditto	2,640	0	0
——— Rhenish	7 ditto	130	0	0 ditto	910	0	0
——— Spanish	225 ditto	100	0	0 ditto	22,500	0	0
Tobacco	7,106,445 lb wt.	0	1	10 ℔ lb.	651,424	2	6
Sugar, Raw	201,447 cwt.	5	0	0 ℔ cwt.	1,007,235	0	0
——— Refined	4,273 ditto	7	10	0 ditto	32,047	10	0
				Total.....	£6,193,694	18	10

N.B. Wines and spirits sold by private sales are not included in the above account.

Note, also, The above values are calculated according to the rates affixed to each article by Mr. Geale, upon the principle of the money paid in the market by the consumer, and on an average of the three years ending March, 1799.

COMMERCE AND CONSUMPTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Commerce.		Consumption.	
British	£73,961,399	British	£46,891,655
Irish	10,925,916	Irish	5,954,856
Proportion...	7 to 1	Proportion...	7⅞ to 1

This tax not existing in Ireland, the next best expedient must be resorted to Commerce and Consumption. If these two principles, which afford no imperfect measure of relative wealth, coincide nearly with each other, it is an additional proof that the result cannot be very wide of the truth. Upon a comparison of the average value of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain for three years, ending January, 1799, with those of Ireland for a like period, ending the 25th March preceding, they are in the proportion of 7 to 1.

Upon a similar comparison of the value of the following articles, Malt, Beer, Spirits, Wine, Tea, Tobacco, Sugar, consumed in the respective countries, the proportion is 7⅞ to 1. The medium, 7½, is taken as the fair proportion; that is, that Great Britain is to contribute fifteen parts and Ireland two. Assuming the proportion of 7½ to 1, it is necessary to state the provisions of the article which constitute 10 sections.

1. The charge of past debt to be borne by the respective kingdoms. This, coupled with the ninth section, which gives Ireland a participation in the territorial revenues of Great Britain, proves the liberality of the terms; she gives you the advantages of her Empire, without the smallest participation in the burdens which have been incurred to procure them. Ireland will thus acquire a participation in the £500,000, annually

paid by the East India Company, which will give her £58,000 a-year, without laying any burden on her people.

2. For twenty years the contribution to be in the proportion of 15 to 2.

3. To be revised at the expiration thereof, by the same principles as originally settled.

4. Irish revenue to constitute a consolidated fund.

5. Taxes to be imposed by the United Parliament towards raising the proportion of contribution which Ireland is to furnish, but so that no article shall be taxed higher than in England, which does not now pay a higher duty.

6. Surplus of Irish revenue how to be applied.

7. Future loans to constitute a joint debt, with the exception stated.

8. That when the separate debt is either extinguished or proportionate, the general expense may be borne by common taxes, in lieu of any proportion.

The importance of an assimilation of taxes has been before explained; the obstacle to its adoption at present has been stated to be the disparity of burdens to which the respective countries are subject; this time may remove, and the same reasons which would now induce the adoption of common taxes, did the objection alluded to not exist, would recommend it, were the objection removed.

It is necessary to obviate an impression which may be made, that common taxes with Great Britain will impose on Ireland heavier burdens than she would otherwise be called on to pay. This cannot happen, as common taxes can alone be substituted in lieu of proportional contributions when separate charge has been got rid of, either by liquidation or becoming proportionate, and thus incorporated with the general expenditure. If both countries, by the continuance of peace, discharge their separate debts, the scale of taxation will be reduced in both. If Great Britain should continue her present system of liquidation in time of peace, namely, if she should apply her income tax to the general reduction of debt, after it has dis-

charged what is mortgaged upon it, the scale of English taxes would rapidly descend to that of Ireland.

VALUE OF PRINCIPAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

British Manufacture.

10 per cent. Cotton	£66,000
Herrings	111,000
10 per cent. Glass	60,000
10 per cent. Hardware.....	120,000
Old Woollens	686,000
	£1,043,000

British Raw Materials.

Bark	£90,517
Coals.....	152,000
Hops	103,000
Salt	22,000
Wool.....	000,000
	£377,000

Colonial.		Irish.	
Sugar.....	£505,000	Provisions ...	£2,099,261
Tea	367,000	Linens	2,600,000
	£872,000		£4,699,261

Foreign.			
Iron	£54,000	Foreign Linen ...	£737,833
Silk ...	64,000		
Tobacco..	165,000	Above one-fourth in value.	
	283,000	Above one-third in quantity.	
	377,000		
	872,000		
	1,043,000		
	£2,575,000		

IRISH LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND.

Loan of 1794.

British	£500,000	The whole, whether English or Irish Money, Capital, Interest, Money Received, &c.	
Capital created ...	500,000		
Interest, &c.		Money Value of Interest.	
£100, at 5 per cent.....	£5	Value	£500,000
£1 annuity for 15 years	1	Value Money.....	8,400
	£6		£508,400

Observations on this Loan by Robert Shaw.

During the annuity the interest is £6 per cent. per annum.

After the expiration of the annuity, the interest is £5.

The value of the annuity in perpetuity is per annum	£0	10	4
Amount of interest in perpetuity	5	0	0
	£5	10	4

Loan of 1795.

British.....	£1,100,000						
Capital created..	1,100,000						
Interest, &c.				Money Value of Interest.			
£100 at 5 per cent.	£5	0	0	Value ...	£1,100,000	0	0
£1 1*s.* 11*d.* annuity	1	1	11	Value money	12,054	3	4
	£6	1	11		£1,112,054	3	4

Observations on this Loan, by Boyd, Benfield, and Co.

During the annuity, the interest is £6 1*s.* 11*d.* per cent. per annum.

After the expiration of the annuity, the interest is £5.

The value of the annuity in perpetuity is per annum	£0	10	10
Amount of interest in perpetuity	5	0	0
	£5	10	10

Loan of 1796.

British £300,000

Capital created ... £300,000

Interest, &c.				Money Value of Interest, &c.	
£100 at 5 per cent.	£5	0	0	Value	£300,000
£4 15*s.* annuity, 13½ years	4	15	0	Value	14,250
	£9	15	0		£314,250

Capital without Annuities.	Annuities Included.
500,000	508,400
1,100,000	1,112,054
300,000	314,250
£1,900,000	£1,934,704

Observations on this Loan, by Robarts, Curtis, and Co.

During the annuity, the interest is £9 15*s.* per cent. per annum.

After the expiration of the annuity, the interest is £5.

The value of the annuity in perpetuity is per annum	£2	5	9
Amount of interest in perpetuity	5	0	0
	£7	5	9

Loan of 1797.

British £1,500,000

Capital created for each £100, with the Interest, &c.

£125, 3 per cent. consol, annuity	£3	15	0	Total ...	£1,875,000
50, 3 per cent. reduced annuity	1	10	0		750,000
20, 4 per cent. consol, annuity		16	0		300,000
195, long annuities, 6*s.* 6*d.*	0	6	6		£2,925,000
	£6	7	6		

Money value of annuity..... £4,875

Notes.—These loans are portion of the English Loans, but not in any manner distinguished from that part belonging to Great Britain.

During the annuity, the interest is £6 7*s.* 6*d.* per cent.

After the expiration of the annuity, the interest is per annum, £6 1*s.*

The value of the annuity is per annum, in perpetuity	£0	6	2
Amount of interest in perpetuity.....	6	1	0
	£6	7	2

Loan of 1798.

British £2,000,000

Capital created for each £100, with the interest.

£150, 3 per cent, consol, annuity	£4	10	0	Total ...	£3,000,000
50, 3 per cent. reduced annuity	1	10	0		1,000,000
£200					£4,000,000
Long annuity	£0	4	11		£4,916
	£6	4	11		

Notes.—During the annuity, the interest is £6 4*s.* 11*d.* per annum.

After the expiration of the annuity, the interest is per annum, £6.

The value of the annuity in perpetuity is per annum	£0	4	8
And of interest in perpetuity	6	0	0
	£6	4	8

Loan of 1799.

British £3,000,000

Capital created for each £100, with the Interest.

£125, 3 per cent. consol, annuity	£3	15	0	Total	£3,750,000
50, 3 per cent. reduced annuity	1	10	0		1,500,000
	£5	5	0		£5,250,000

Capital without Annuities.	Annuities Included.
£2,925,000	£2,929,875
4,000,000	4,004,916
5,250,000	5,250,000
£12,175,000	£12,184,791

Memorandum as to Loans, &c., as they may be affected by a Union.

It is objected to a Union—1st. That it will draw all the money concerns of Ireland to England. 2nd. That loans will be there negociated. 3rd. That loans already borrowed in England cannot be transferred to Ireland so as to prevent the drain of interest. 4th. That, no loans being made here, all savings must be lodged in British Funds, making a loss of capital to the kingdom in the first instance, and creating a loss to individuals in the second, by the charge of exchange and commission upon the remittal of interest.

To the 1st objection it may be answered, that it does not appear that the money concerns of Ireland will be more drawn to England than at present. The Irish Treasury will continue, the Irish establishments will be here paid, and the amount of them is not likely to diminish, and all money transactions unconnected with the Government will be carried on as at present, and probably to a much greater extent.

2nd. But our loans will be negociated in England, and are they not to a great degree at present; and, if they were entirely, would it be prejudicial to the kingdom?

Let us examine this point. The best method of employing capital is in the improvement of lands and of manufactures, and in the extension of commerce. Hence, when capital is not wanted for the State in times of peace, the nation improves.

In time of war, when capital is wanted for the State, it must be taken from its usual and better employment in the improvement of lands and manufactures, and the extension of commerce, and be diverted to the purposes of war; a stagnation consequently ensues in general improvement; and though the capital advanced for the purposes of war be chiefly spent in provisions, clothing, arms, and ammunition, and so far encourages agriculture and a certain class of manufactures, yet the diversion of capital from its usual and most beneficial employment to one less beneficial is severely felt, and all projects of national improvement are greatly checked by it. It is evident, then, that it would be highly advantageous to a State to procure the capital wanted for the purposes of war from a Foreign State, unless such a proceeding were attended with an inconvenience which overbalanced the benefit. This inconvenience is the regular drain of specie in the remittals of interest to the foreign country for capital so borrowed. We are then to consider whether this inconvenience is not less in proportion than the benefit received. Suppose the State wants to borrow one million, and makes the loan at home. In this case, one million is suddenly taken from the capital employed in general industry, a consequent stagnation ensues, and, though great part of it may be spent at home, a long period ensues before the loss of it can be supplied.

Now, suppose the million wanted by the State is borrowed from abroad, what follows? First, the million which, if the loan had been made in the home market, would have remained employed in the most beneficial manner, remains so employed,

increasing the industry and productive capital and exports of the country; and, secondly, an additional million of capital comes into the country, and gives life to all the provision trade and that set of manufactures which is connected with war, and becomes an addition, in its whole amount, to the general capital of the kingdom.

In the first case, however, the interest of the million is to be paid in the kingdom; in the second, it is to be sent out of it. The question then is, whether of the two millions the one which, by making the loan abroad, is not diverted from its usual beneficial employment, will not set at work so much productive labour, and produce such an increased export of commodities, as that the value of such increase shall exceed the amount of interest to be remitted abroad for the million borrowed. And if that shall be the case, the making the loan abroad will be more beneficial than making it at home. We may compare this proceeding to the case of every merchant. Every merchant trades partly in private, partly on borrowed or foreign capital. All discounts may be called foreign capital. But, as the employment of his capital produces a greater return than the interest of his discount, it is so far advantageous.

3rd. But it will not be possible for Ireland to transfer the capital it has borrowed in England to the Irish market.

This can only be effected in one way, which is the following, namely, to open, when peace returns, in the London market, loans to the amount of the capital owed by Ireland in the British funds, with a condition that the stock be Irish, and the interest thereof be paid in Ireland, and to apply the capital of such new loans in paying off the debt owed by Ireland in the British funds. But suppose this operation performed, if the subscribers to the new loan be residents in England, the interest will still be remitted thither, and, if they be residents in Ireland, the capital must be remitted to England, so that this idea of transferring the Irish debt from the British to the Irish market is fallacious.

With respect to the fourth objection, it seems reasonable that an opening should be left for Irish capitalists to subscribe to that part of future loans, which is to constitute the contribution of Ireland, and in that case to vest the sum subscribed in Ireland in Irish stock, the interest whereof should be payable in Dublin.

The plea for such a regulation is that many persons, unless they can get State security, will let their money lie dead; for, if all would employ their spare capital in increasing productive labour, there would be no reason for such a provision. As also great profits are made in the negociation of loans which produce accumulations of capital to individuals, it may be reasonable that Ireland should have a share in this kind of advantage.

To illustrate the general truth of the above observations, the present state of Ireland may be adduced. Ireland has been regularly improving in commerce and revenue during the present war, although about eight millions have been taken from its circulating capital at different periods. The stagnation which such a diversion of capital would have created has not been felt, because, during the same period, she has imported nearly the same amount of British capital; and though, when peace returns, she will be forced to remit a large sum annually to England for interest, she will have made, by the employment of the capital so imported, and of the capital which would otherwise have been diverted from general industry to war purposes, such an increase of product and export as to supply the interest wanted without real inconvenience and loss.

MEMORANDUM ON IRISH COTTON MANUFACTURES.

It appears by the Printed Account (No. 2 and 3, Irish) that the average value of Cotton Wool imported is.....	117,348
Ditto, of Cotton Yarn and Twist.....	85,294
Total value...	£202,642

It is stated by the cotton manufacturers in evidence that the value of cotton manufactures made in Ireland is per annum £700,000. That the duty on British manufactures of calicoes and muslins (and little else is made in Ireland) is upon an average 50 per cent. That the English can undersell the Irish by 50 per cent.; that the consumers of Ireland pay 50 per cent. more for Irish cottons than if they imported them duty free from England; and it follows of course that the Irish consumers are taxed 50 per cent., or £350,000 a-year, to support the manufacture of Irish cottons.

If then British cottons were to supply the Irish market (they being 50 per cent. cheaper, and the consumption remaining the same as at present), we shall pay to England for cottons not £700,000 as we pay to the Irish manufacturer, but only £350,000. And as, in this case, we should save the price of the cotton wool, cotton yarn, and twist, now imported to the value of £202,642, our whole national outgoing for the consumption of cottons would be only £147,358, instead of £202,642.

It appears then, to prevent an importation of British cottons, the consumers of Ireland are taxed to the amount of £350,000 a-year, and the nation loses £55,000 a-year. And the computed loss of the nation and consumer being £405,000 on the value of £700,000, it follows that the cotton manufacture of Ireland is now carried on at the loss of that sum per annum to the consumers and the nation at large.

MEMORANDUM RELATIVE TO COTTONS.

By Mr. Francis French.

The manufacturers of cotton in England have more than once attempted to get the duty on East India muslin increased; it is at present £19 13*s.* 9*d.* per cent. *ad valorem.* They contended that they could not rival a country where labour was

not one-sixth part of the price, owing in some measure to the religion of the natives, which forbids the use of animal food and fermented liquors; where cotton grew spontaneously, and where the climate was so very favourable to the manufacturer, that they were obliged, by artificial means, to bring their rooms to the same degree of warmth in England.

The difference of the price of labour was at length overcome by the invention of the Spinning Jennies, and the English manufacturer arrived at a great degree of perfection. Some time afterwards, during a temporary stagnation of the cotton trade, those concerned in it again complain that the East India Company were determined to ruin the English muslin-makers; that they were at that time selling the India muslins thirty per cent. below prime cost, which loss they added to the price of tea, of which they had a monopoly. These complaints were disregarded, and the English manufacture has continued to flourish.

Protecting Duties are the cause of high wages in the cotton trade: they are a protection to idleness and drunkenness, to combinations against the employers by day, and against the Government by night. Mr. Grimshaw's evidence, page 28, proves, "that the weaver of cotton in Ireland receives 30 per cent. more than in England, and the printer 40 per cent. more." The Irish workman does not enjoy more comforts, but he works three days in the week instead of six, and he is protected in his idleness by the duty. A competition with England is supported by Ireland in fustians and other strong goods, with little protection; the duty on English fustians is £12 14*s.* 1*d.*, and the duty on the English twist from which they are made is above £11 per cent. on importation into Ireland, therefore they have very little protection; if the duty on twist was taken off, they would have a very sufficient protection.

It appears by the evidence of Mr. O'Brien, page 14—That the whole capital engaged in the cotton trade is from £300,000 to £400,000, and that the amount of the consumption of the

Irish manufacture is £700,000; if England, as some contend, could supply this consumption at 50 per cent. less, the saving to the public would be £350,000 per annum, which is as much as the whole Irish capital employed in the trade, according to Mr. O'Brien's evidence.

From the whole of the examination, it appears that the loss which the public sustain by paying an extra price for most of the cotton goods is infinitely more than what is gained by the manufacturers. And if their capital had not been forced into this trade by protecting duties, it would probably have taken a channel more favourable to the productions of the country and the habits of the people. Ireland might then have supplied England with more linen and grain, both of which she takes from her in preference to any other country of Europe, and she would have been supplied with cotton goods on much lower terms than she can now supply herself. It has been mentioned in the House that the high freight on so bulky an article as sheep's wool would prevent any supply being obtained from England to this country. The freight of cotton wool from Liverpool to Dublin is but 50*s.* per ton, not more than one per cent. on the value.

PROPOSED COMPENSATION TO COTTON MANUFACTURERS.

It has been stated in evidence that the sum of £200,000 has been expended in erecting Cotton Mills, Machinery, and Printing works in Ireland.

To compensate the Proprietors, at the rate of one half of the sum expended, would require	£100,000
To compensate Manufacturers who have *not* expended money for their establishment	50,000
Compensation to those *actually* employed in the various branches of the cotton business, rated at 25,000 persons at £2 each.....	50,000
Total compensation.....	£200,000

To provide for which, suppose a duty, at the rate of 20 per cent., on Calicoes and Muslins should take place on the 1st of January next, and to continue for *one* year, it would on the Import of £1,500,000 produce 300,000

From which deduct for the above compensation 200,000

Would leave a balance of Revenue of £100,000

Note.—There can be no doubt of more than the value of British Calicoes and Muslins being imported than what is stated above; for, state the population of Ireland at 4,000,000, and suppose only one-fourth consumers of these articles at the rate of 30s. each per annum, it would be equal to the above sum of £1,500,000.

In order to show that Calicoes and Muslins could bear a duty of 20 per cent. on their Import into this country, the writer of this states, from his own knowledge, that he could buy in Manchester Calicoes adapted to the general consumption of this country at 17d. to 18d. per yard

	£.	s.	d.
average at	0	1	5½
From which deduct Excise Duty	0	0	2½
British	0	1	3
To which add difference of Currency	0	0	1¼
Add for freight, &c.	0	0	0¼
They would then cost in this country	0	1	4½
To which add the present Duty of 1s. 4d. per yard	0	1	4
	0	2	8½

	s.	d.			
Reckon the cost when brought here, as above stated, at	1	4½			
To which add at the rate of the proposed 20 per cent..... ...	0	3½			
Add to this commission for sales, discount, and 10 per cent.....	0	2			
			0	1	10
					10½

Difference between the proposed 20 per cent. and the present duty	0	0	10½
The writer of this now sells the same description of goods in this country at	0	2	3
From which he deducts what he has allowed on English Goods as above, viz., 10 per cent.	0	0	2¾
Wholesale price of Irish Goods	0	2	0¼
Wholesale price of English Goods, paying 20 per cent.	0	1	10
In favour of British Goods per yard	0	0	2¼

1800.

The Correspondence for the year 1799 has shown how assiduously the members of the Administration, both in England and Ireland, were exerting themselves to secure the success of a second attempt to carry the grand measure of a Union between the two countries, after the temporary delay to which they were obliged to submit. Little time was lost when the moment arrived for renewing their efforts.

The Parliament of Ireland met on the 15th of January. Though, in the Speech delivered from the throne by Lord Cornwallis, there was no allusion to the Union, it was well known that the measure would be revived and urged with all the influence that Government possessed. In the debate which ensued upon the Address, Sir Lawrence Parsons, after a strong speech against a Union, moved an amendment to assure his Majesty that Ireland was already inseparably united with Great Britain; but that his Irish subjects were too sensible of the blessings which they enjoyed from the exertions of an independent resident Parliament, not to feel themselves bound, at all times, and particularly at that moment, to maintain it. This amendment, supported by Mr. Plunkett, the late Prime-Serjeant Fitzgerald, Mr. Grattan, Arthur

Moore, Charles Bushe, and others, was rejected by a majority of 138 to 96. On the breaking up of the House, a riot took place in the streets, and some of the advocates of the Union were insulted by the populace.

The Government was not backward in providing the means of repressing any seditious demonstrations which the opponents of Union might excite; and, on the 21st of January, the Commons, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, voted that 10,000 men of the Irish Militia should be allowed to volunteer into the line, at a bounty of six or ten guineas per man: and it was afterwards determined that their place in Ireland should be supplied by English Militia regiments.

On the 5th of February, a Message from the Lord-Lieutenant, recommending a Union, was delivered to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, who, after explaining the general principle of the measure, proposed eight articles as the foundations on which it might be established for the mutual benefit of the two countries. The first imported that, on the first day of January, 1801, and for ever after, Great Britain and Ireland should be united into one kingdom by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; the second, that the succession to the imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom and of the dominions thereunto belonging, should continue limited and settled in the same manner as it was according to the Union between England and Scotland; the third, that the same United Kingdom should be united in one and the same Parliament; the fourth,

that four Lords Spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight Lords Temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the Peers of Ireland, should be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords in the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the fifth, that the Churches of England and Ireland should be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called "The United Church of England and Ireland;" that the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the said Church should remain in full force for ever; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church should be for ever held as a fundamental article of the Union. The sixth article provided for a fair participation in commercial privileges; for which end it was thought necessary to impose certain countervailing duties. The seventh, left to each kingdom the separate discharge of its public debt already incurred, and ordained that, for twenty years after the Union, the general national expense should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for England and two for Ireland. The eighth ordained that the Laws and Courts of both kingdoms, Civil and Ecclesiastical, should remain as then established, subject, however to such alterations as the United Legislature might hereafter deem expedient; and that all laws then in force in either kingdom, which should be contrary to any of the provisions that might be enacted by any Act for carrying these articles into effect from and after the Union, should be repealed. "In support of these propositions," says the Annual Register (Vol. 42, p. 114), "the Secre-

tary displayed great ability, sound sense, comprehensive views, clear arrangement, and an easy flow of eloquence."

One of the most important and interesting points in the plan was the Parliamentary representation of Ireland. On this head his Lordship contended that the proposed number of Irish legislators (one hundred in the House of Commons) ought to satisfy every reasonable person, as it was a fair proportion compared with the respective population and future contributions of Great Britain and Ireland. He intimated that, as many Boroughs would be disfranchised by the new regulations, it would be but just to make compensation to such individuals as might be injured by the loss of their prescriptive privileges; adding that "the long-contested question of Parliamentary Reform would be superseded by the present plan, which was a reform of the most popular kind."

The motion for an Address to the Lord-Lieutenant was vigorously opposed by the adversaries of a Union, particularly by Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, Sir John Parnell, Mr. Saurin, and Mr. Ogle. The latter acknowledged that the ground of his hostility to it was because it professedly led to Catholic Emancipation and Reform. The debate was conducted with great spirit, and lasted till twelve o'clock on the following day, when the House divided—160 for the proposition, and 117 against it.

On the 17th of February, the House went into Committee, to take the Articles of Union into consideration. Foster, the Speaker, entered into a very

long statement relative to the trade and revenues of the country, which occupied above two hours in the delivery, and in which he contended that both must be injured by a Union.

During the discussions on this occasion, Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, indulged in some severe animadversions on Mr. Grattan, "a pensioned tribune of the Irish nation," who replied in terms equally severe. The Chairman of the Committee, having suffered this altercation to pass unnoticed, the consequence was a challenge from Mr. Grattan, and a hostile meeting between the parties, in which Mr. Corry was wounded.

In the month of March, while the all-important measure of Union was still under discussion, the Irish Government, through the Attorney and Solicitor-General, submitted to the Commons two Bills, the one empowering military officers to act as magistrates, and the other authorizing them to try by martial-law any persons "for rebellion, sedition, or any crimes connected therewith." Though vehement opposition was made to both, they were carried by great majorities.

The adversaries of Union, finding themselves foiled by the result of every division, resolved to make a strong effort for quashing the measure altogether. On the 13th of March, Sir John Parnell proposed an Address to his Majesty, praying him to dissolve the Parliament, and to call a new one before any final arrangement should be concluded in relation to the measure of a Legislative Union; but this motion also,

though strenuously supported by Sir Lawrence Parsons, W. B. Ponsonby, Grattan, Saurin, Egan, and others, was rejected by 150 to 104. In replying to Mr. Saurin, during the debate on this occasion, Lord Castlereagh said that, while he acknowledged him to be a most able lawyer, he must confess that he appeared to him to be very young in politics: he therefore found it necessary to separate his legal from his political knowledge, and to declare that, however his professional opinions might accord with the principles of the Constitution, his doctrines in the House were those of Tom Paine.

In the House of Lords, the measure met with little opposition. The message in favour of a Union was delivered by Lord Clare, on the 10th of February, and the address upon it was carried by 75 to 26 voices.

The most strenuous opponent of the measure in that House was the Marquess of Downshire, who had a seat in the Parliament of both countries, and who, deriving great weight and influence from a fair and unblemished character, and the reputation of being sincerely attached to his native country, exerted both with indefatigable industry and perseverance. Neither his exertions, however, nor those of other Peers, could prevent the adoption of the plan by a great majority, although twenty Lords joined in entering a protest against a Union in the journals of their House.

On the 27th of March, the measure being approved, after some alterations in the articles, an address to

the King, informing his Majesty of the result of their deliberations, was voted by both Houses. In that address they assured his Majesty that they considered the resolutions of the two Houses of the British Parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of an incorporation of England and Ireland into one Kingdom, under his Majesty's auspicious Government, by a complete and entire Union of their Legislature. They had adopted them as their guide in the measures they had pursued, and they now felt it their duty to lay before his Majesty the resolutions to which they had agreed, in order that the same might be established for ever by mutual consent of both Parliaments.

This address, with the resolutions of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, containing the terms proposed by them for an entire Union between the two Kingdoms, was communicated by his Majesty to the British Parliament, on the 2d of April, and became the principal subject of their deliberations, from the 21st of that month till the 12th of May.

Mr. Alison, in his "History of Europe," iv., 217, observes—

The debates on this subject in the British Parliament are chiefly remarkable for the complete blindness of all parties to the real and ultimate consequences of the measure which was adopted. Mr. Pitt was most desirous to show that the influence of the Crown would not be unduly augmented by the Irish members in the House of Commons; while Mr. Grey contended that, "ultimately, at least, the Irish members will afford a certain accession of force to the party of every administration, and therefore forty of the most decayed boroughs should be struck

off before the Union takes place." He accordingly moved "that it should be an instruction to the House to guard against the increase of the influence of the Crown in the approaching Union."—To us, [adds the historian,] who know that, by the aid of the Irish members, and their aid alone, even after the franchise had been raised from forty shillings to ten pounds, the great democratic change in the British Constitution of 1832 was carried, these speculations as to the ultimate consequences of the Union are singular monuments of the difficulty which even the greatest intellects experience in prognosticating the consequences of any considerable change in the frame of Government. In truth, the decisive addition which the Irish members furnished to the democratic party of the Empire adds another to the numerous examples which history affords of the extreme peril of applying to one country the institutions or government of another, or of supposing that the system of representation, which the habits of centuries have moulded into a conformity with the interests of one State, can be adopted without the utmost hazard by another in an inferior stage of civilization, inheriting from its forefathers a more ardent temperament, or under the influence of more vehement passions.

On the 5th of May, Mr. Pitt moved in the House of Commons:—

That an Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly begging leave to acquaint his Majesty, that, in conformity to his Majesty's gracious message, laying before them the resolutions of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, they had proceeded to resume the consideration of the great and important subject of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland—that it was with unspeakable satisfaction they had observed the conformity of the said resolutions to the principles which they had humbly submitted to his Majesty in the last Session of Parliament as calculated to form the basis of such a settlement—that, with the few alterations and additions which they had found it necessary to suggest, they considered these resolutions as fit to form the

Articles of Union between Great Britain and Ireland. And, if these alterations and additions should be approved of by the two Houses of the Parliament of Ireland, they were ready to confirm and ratify those Articles, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both Parliaments—that they offered up to his Majesty their humble congratulations on the near prospect of the accomplishment of a work, which his Majesty, as the common father of his people, had justly declared to be so near his heart, concurring with his Houses of Parliament in Ireland in the full conviction that, by incorporating the Legislature and consolidating the resources of the two Kingdoms, we should increase the power and stability of the British Empire, and at the same time contribute in the most effectual manner to the improvement of the commerce and the preservation of the liberties of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland.

This address, being voted, was on the 9th of May communicated in a conference to the Lords, who, in a previous conference, had made some little additions and amendments to the resolutions of the Commons; and a joint address of both Houses on the subject of the Union, being agreed to, was carried to his Majesty, who, in his answer on the 12th of May, expressed the greatest satisfaction at their proceedings; and engaged without delay to communicate to his Parliament of Ireland the sentiments and declarations contained in the Address.

The disposition which had been manifested by his Parliaments in both Kingdoms afforded his Majesty the best pledge of the speedy and prosperous conclusion of the great measure of the Union—an event to which he looked forward with the most anxious expectation, as tending, above all others, to secure and perpetuate the happiness of all his subjects.

The resolutions of the British Parliament were accordingly remitted to Ireland; and, having been reported to the Irish Parliament, on the 21st of May, Lord Castlereagh moved in the Commons for leave to bring in a Bill of Union. After much debate, this motion was carried by 160 to 100. On the following day a message was delivered from the Lords, informing the House that they had agreed to the Articles of Union, and requesting the concurrence of the Commons on the subject, which, after debate, was voted by 67 to 37. On the 23d, Lord Castlereagh moved that the House should send a deputation to the Lord-Lieutenant, with an address in favour of Union, when Mr. O'Connell moved as an amendment, that the Generals and Staff-officers, Placemen, and Pensioners, who were Members of that House, and who were enumerated by name, should go up with it. A division actually took place upon this motion, which was made in a very thin House, and negatived by 50 to 18. On the 26th, the second reading of the Union Bill was carried by 117 votes to 73. Having been debated in Committee, it was read a third time on the 7th of June. With a few slight alterations made by the Lords, it was ratified by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; being finally carried in the British House of Commons by a majority of 208 to 26, and in the Lords by 75 to 7, and converted into a law by the Royal assent on the 2nd of July.

On the 2nd of August the Parliament of Ireland was prorogued by the Lord-Lieutenant, with the usual

formalities, never to meet again. His Excellency wound up the speech which he delivered on this occasion by adverting to the Union in the following impressive manner:—

I cannot conclude without offering to you and to the nation at large my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our Sovereign, on that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The Empire is now, through your exertions, so completely united, and by union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies can make to weaken it by division, or overturn it by force. Under the protection of Divine Providence, the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland will, I hope, remain in all future ages the fairest monument of his Majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects.

His Majesty, when closing the Session of the British Parliament on the 27th July, thus expressed himself:—

It is with peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps which you have taken for effecting an entire union between my kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign; being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish, on the most solid foundation, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole Empire.

The grand question of Union being finally disposed of, his Majesty's Ministers in both countries now applied themselves to the regulation of details connected

with the important interests of trade, commerce, and manufactures, as involved in that comprehensive measure. The letters of Lord Auckland, then President of the Board of Trade, of Mr. Rose, and of Mr. Beresford, as well as those of Lord Castlereagh himself, afford some insight into the intricacy and perplexing nature of the inquiries and calculations into which it was necessary to enter, in order to place the two countries on a footing of as perfect equality on every point as it was possible to attain.

Another great object occupied at the same time their most serious attention. This was the conciliation of the two principal classes of Nonconformists, constituting the great mass of the population of Ireland—the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians, who, in general, if they had not taken an active part in favour of the Union, had at least not shown any hostile disposition towards it. For the Presbyterians was proposed an increase of the annual donation, which had long been granted to them by the Crown for the support of their ministers—a design not long afterwards carried into effect. A provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy also was contemplated. In answer to queries addressed by the Government to the Prelates of that persuasion, relative to the state of their Church, information embracing the minutest details was furnished; but the Correspondence for 1801 will show what causes prevented at that time its application to the purpose for which it was collected. In case such a plan should ever be seriously entertained, this mass of statistical documents would

be found infinitely useful, as forming a groundwork of information absolutely necessary to be obtained.

On the subject of the Roman Catholics generally, the letters of the Bishop of Meath, in one of which he treats specifically of a provision for their Clergy, are too instructive and too impressive, even at the present day, not to demand the most earnest attention.

Myles Keon, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh.

Keon Crooke, near Carrick on Shannon,
January 8, 1800.

My Lord—The success that has attended my exertions in Roscommon to obtain signatures in favour of the Union has vexed and surprised a great many, indeed, for it was boasted that I should not get one, and no wonder this should be said; for I never knew an instance, on any former public occasion, where people was not bound by illegal oaths, that an opposing unanimity so much prevailed, and this was what I did not at all expect to meet with. However, from the arguments I made use of with the Clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic persuasion in particular, and with several Protestants likewise, I engaged Lord Roscommon, his brother-in-law, Mr. James Begg, of Beech Abbey, Mr. O'Donnel, of Greyfield, Mr. Reynolds, Parish Priest of Kilroonan, and many others, to take an active part. My brothers-in-law, Mr. Hu. O'Beirne, and Mr. Patrick Walsh, always co-operated with me in Leitrim and Roscommon. The consequence of this was that I forwarded yesterday, to Colonel Littlehales, the signatures of upwards of 1,500 Catholics, exclusive of the Protestant signatures; and my idea is, which I humbly submit to your Lordship's consideration, that none but the signatures of the Noblemen and

Gentlemen of known property and freehold should be published at full length; the number of the rest to be mentioned in one line; and for this reason, that the common freeholders and landowners may not be exposed to the resentment of their landlords by having acted contrary to their advice. Very few would have signed if this had not been promised to them. Mr. Hu. O'Beirne (who tells me he had the honour of some conversation with your Lordship) is very capable, from his local knowledge, to point out who the independent freeholders are that may, with safety to themselves, have their names set forth; and who (for the reasons assigned) may be enumerated in one line. I have before made these observations to Colonel Littlehales. My name, and others are to be met with in different declarations, to induce our acquaintances to sign. This Mr. O'Beirne will be able to certify: I had not time to do it myself. I suppose Serjeant Stanly will assist on this occasion: he wrote to me to send him such signatures as I should be able to obtain, but I thought it would be more expeditious (as the time was short) to forward them directly to the Castle.

In all that regards this business, from the beginning, I have acted to the best of my judgment and with unceasing diligence; and I shall continue to support Lord Cornwallis's administration with all the ability I am master of, both from principle and inclination.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

MYLES KEON.

Lord De Clifford to Lord Castlereagh.

King's Weston, January 10, 1800.

My dear Lord—I beg to return you my sincerest acknowledgments for the very obliging manner in which your Lordship has at various times communicated to me the outlines of the plan for the intended measure of Union. It is with great regret I feel myself necessitated to oppose a measure so warmly

adopted by your Lordship and the rest of his Majesty's Ministers; but, the more I consider it, the more I feel convinced that the advantages that may accrue to Ireland from it are extremely doubtful, and that the attempt to force it upon the country is fraught with the greatest danger, particularly at this time, when I should have imagined it would have been much more advisable to strengthen the hands of Government to the utmost, than to drive many of those into opposition who have hitherto been in the habit of supporting Administration. At the same time, I must beg to assure your Lordship, that it is far from my wish to join in any illiberal attempt to impede and embarrass Administration. All that I desire of my friends is, that they should firmly oppose the Union.

Mr. W. Rowley arrived here last night, and has shown me your Lordship's letter of the 2d inst. I feel truly sensible of the very delicate and flattering manner in which your Lordship has been pleased to communicate Lord Cornwallis's kind intentions towards me; but I must take the liberty of observing that your Lordship does me but justice, in supposing that my conduct upon this important question would not be influenced by any such considerations.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

DE CLIFFORD.

Robert Bradshaw, Esq. to Lord Castlereagh.

Belfast, January 13, 1800.

My Lord—Although a very ample apology might be deemed necessary for intruding on your Lordship's time at present, you may, perhaps, not be displeased at hearing how we are now going on in this place. Until very lately, Union was a subject very little talked about, less understood; it has now become a very general topic, and, although the great majority approve of it, we have some dissentients. The cotton business, though at present considerably damped, is certainly an

object of great moment to this neighbourhood; and our West India trade, once so very considerable, is still looked upon as capable of revival. The people in these branches say that, if we have a Union, British capital and British skill will ruin them. This argument (like that against machines for the expediting of labour) is almost too absurd to be answered: answered, however, it has been, and I hope that many have been convinced of the folly of it. It is pretty nearly a general wish that this great object may be speedily settled, as the most certain means of for ever quieting the unhappy distractions that have too long tormented this country, as well as procuring for us benefits highly essential both to our commerce and constitution. We would not wish a narrow bargain; we ought to give all we can afford, and, in return, receive from Britain all that she can afford, each striving to assist and benefit the other.

Union on this principle will, I am certain, at present please almost the whole of this part of the kingdom; and, indeed, I think the day is not far distant when the rest of it, not even excepting the metropolis, will do justice to your Lordship's motives for the very active part you have taken in this great national business.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROBERT BRADSHAW.

Mr. Foster to Lord Castlereagh.

January 14, 1800.

The Speaker presents compliments to Lord Castlereagh, and has had the honour of receiving his invitation to the meeting at the Castle to-night. As he understood that his not having received a summons to a similar meeting last year arose from his sentiments being known to be adverse to a Legislative Union, he begs leave to acquaint his Lordship that his sentiments will continue the same.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Foster.

Merion Street, January 15, 1800.

Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to the Speaker. He has had the honour of receiving his note, which has been communicated to the Lord-Lieutenant. Lord Castlereagh takes this opportunity of recalling to the Speaker's recollection, that he had the honour, on the evening the speech was read, previous to the opening of the last Session, to explain by letter to the Speaker, that his not having received the customary invitation to attend that meeting arose from an official inaccuracy, and not from any consideration of the Speaker's political sentiments; and Lord Castlereagh expressed at the same time his regret that this neglect had happened in his office.

The Rev. H. Dowling to Lord Castlereagh.

Tullamore, January 17, 1800.

My Lord—Though an obscure individual, yet extremely anxious lest the intemperate conduct of some of my brethren in communion of the City of Dublin (for I am a Catholic clergyman) should impress Government with an opinion that the sentiments of the generality of that communion were in unison with theirs, I have taken the liberty thus to intrude myself on your Lordship, in order to assure you that I, and thousands of my brethren in the country parts of Ireland, whose sentiments I speak, feel exceedingly indignant at the rash and intemperate conduct of the Dublin Catholics, on a late, or rather a present, occasion—I mean, relative to the business of a Legislative Union. In the country parts of this kingdom, we only wait to be called upon, in order to declare our decided opinion in favour of that measure. We are well aware, that all we have hitherto received has been through the recommendation of our Most Gracious Sovereign; and that all we are to expect hereafter must come from the same benign hand. We, therefore, highly disapprove, nay, condemn, the

intemperate conduct of our brethren of Dublin, in thus rashly coming forward to oppose a measure recommended so warmly from the throne. But, thanks to God, they are but an insignificant part of the Catholics of Ireland; and it is ardently hoped that Government are better acquainted with the general sentiments of the Catholic body, than to take the level thereof from those of Dublin. Indeed, we have had more than once reason to be indignant at, and highly to reprobate, the conduct of that body—I mean, the Catholics of Dublin—on some former public occasions. Their agitating spirit is by no means that of our religion or of our choice, as men of common sense. Their conduct heretofore, on some public occasions, has exceedingly scandalized us, and has indeed tarnished the character of our body, although undeservedly. We wish, by all means in our power, to remove every occasion of distrust and diffidence in regard to our body from the mind of Government, by a conduct totally opposite to theirs.

We hope that Government will accept of our humble services and sincere attachment, and command them on all occasions that may occur. I speak the sentiments of thousands of my communion, and rest,

My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, &c.

H. DOWLING.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. London, Friday, January 24, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have neither time nor materials to send an official answer to the letters I had the honour of receiving from your Lordship, by this and yesterday's mail; but I am so sensible of the importance of the arrival in Ireland of the regiments from this establishment, which are destined for the immediate service of that kingdom, that I cannot let the post go out without informing you that, in addition to the transports, on board of which *three* battalions are already embarked, or are on the point of embarking, the ships of war of which I

send you a list enclosed, together with the number of troops which can be conveyed by each of them respectively, have received orders for that purpose; and, as I find that there will be room for considerably more than the strength of the regiments of the line amount to, I will endeavour to have that space filled by the battalion of Guards which is under orders for Ireland.

I am ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

PORTLAND.

Lord Landaff[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Kildare Street, January 25, 1800.

My dear Lord—Excuse my taking up a few moments of your time. Having heard that emissaries have gone to the County of Tipperary, to obtain signatures to another counter-address from every hole and corner, permit me, if not an intrusion, to mention that no notice whatever, in my opinion, should be taken of it. Our address stands in so respectable a light, supported by almost all the estated interest in the County, by the personal appearance of the gentlemen at the meeting, property convened (upwards of £300,000 per annum landed property in that County being present), and, on the other side, excepting Lords Mountcashel and Lismore, representatives of the Ponsonby family, no property of any consideration. However, if Government should be of a different opinion, and wish the battle to be fought again, I will go down, collect our forces, stand forward, and exert every influence in my power; but I do not think the Address of the County meeting can be bettered.

If you should be of a different opinion, by a line, I shall wait on your Lordship, with great pleasure: otherwise, I should not wish to give you the trouble of a letter.

Very truly, your Lordship's &c.,

LANDAFF.

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[1] Francis Mathew, successively created Baron, Viscount, and Earl of Landaff.

James Gordon, Esq. to Lord Castlereagh.

Bora Lodge, near Enniscorthy, January 31, 1800.

My Lord—I took the liberty, a few days ago, to give you an instance, in the Address of Mr. Carew's tenantry, how little the public opinion can be really known by such addresses. The most respectable Protestants here have refused signing it, though they may suffer the enmity of Mr. Carew and his Romanist agents. Those who have signed it are mostly the most miserable Romanists, holding about twelve or fifteen acres each of poor, dear land. The Protestants who have signed it did it through fear, quite against their feelings. Another Petition is going about of the same nature; and wretches, who had signed in favour of a Union before, are now, for fear of their landlord, signing against it. The Protestants, as far as I have had an opportunity of knowing it (and I took much pains), are in general in favour of a Union; and, if the measure could be carried, would almost universally acquiesce in it. I hope the House will not be influenced by such miserable addresses against the Union as I have above stated.

I am, &c.

JAMES GORDON.

The Bishop of Clonfert to Lord Castlereagh.

Saturday, [no date.]

My Lord—I am sorry that I must give an account of our College[1] so unfavourable to a measure in which I feel myself much concerned on a double account; both because I conceive it to be intimately connected with the security of the Protestant established religion of this country, and also because your Lordship appears to be much interested in its success.

In conversation yesterday with a friend, who is perfectly well acquainted with the state of the College, I learned the following particulars: the Provost does not appear to have expressed

[1] Trinity College, Dublin.

any opinion on the subject of a Union, and for that reason is supposed to be rather adverse to it. Dr. Hall is rather against it; but, if he be so, I am pretty well persuaded that he will not take an active part. Dr. Barrett has no opinion; and Mr. Kyle, who formerly was warm against it, is now much less so, or is become indifferent. Those who are decidedly for it are but few—Drs. Fitzgerald, Elrington, Browne, Graves, and Mr. Prior. All the rest are warm against it, particularly Mr. Magee, Dr. Millar, Dr. Stokes, and Mr. Davenport.

I am also sorry to add, on the same authority, which is unquestionable, that there is the most violent resentment entertained against Dr. Browne, on the supposition that he intends to support the measure in Parliament, and that it is hard to say to what lengths this resentment may be hereafter carried, which is only smothered for the present. This is but an unpleasant picture, yet, I am afraid, too faithful. However, it seems that no resolutions will be entered into previous to the discussion of the question in Parliament.

I am,

Your Lordship's most obliged and affectionate servant,

CLONFERT.

Anonymous Letter to Lord Castlereagh.

Carlow, February 2, 1800.

My Lord—As I am an old man, and somewhat tamed, I hope you will take an opportunity, in some of your speeches in the House, to inform us, if it is consistent with the safety of his Majesty's peaceable subjects, for military bodies to be stirred up against a measure our worthy Viceroy professes to have at heart, and how far we, who are not able to fight for ourselves, may depend upon a corps (should the present contest end in blows), who decidedly petition against and reprobate the measures of the Government who pay them. Don't you think, my Lord, we may be in some danger of a second part of the concerto played at Castlebar? What has led me

into these reflections, my Lord, is this: I am told, and I believe my authority is pretty good, that an express came into this town last night from a noble Marquis, in consequence of which, there was a general call of his regiment this morning to meet, the officers to meet at the Major's room, the men somewhere else. When the officers met, a letter from the noble Lord was first presented to them, saying he had no doubt of his officers and men signing the petition sent therewith, which petition you will have the pleasure of seeing. All signed that were present, but one—freeholders, non-freeholders, children, &c., &c, and as for the men, drum-boys, fifers, &c., all signed, or were signed for, as your Lordship will see, by comparing it with the muster-roll.

I had the curiosity, in my morning rambles, to ask several of the soldiers what they had signed. One answered he did not know; another, that he signed for the Union; a third, that the Union may not be carried out of the kingdom, and so on. Some replies were so very ludicrous, that, in spite of my apprehensions and indignant feelings at such a farce being acted, my risible faculties were moved. However, my Lord, I hope you will speak a word of comfort to us ignorant politicians, and believe me, my Lord,

Your well wisher,

JEFFREY FORESIGHT.

Captain Boyd to Lord Castlereagh.

Carlow, February 2, 1800.

My Lord—As a letter came this day from Lord Downshire, with a petition for the officers and soldiers of the Regiment to sign against a Union, and as my opinion on that subject does not coincide with his Lordship's, if there is a counter-petition from the county, I beg your lordship will have the goodness to add my name to the list of signatures.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. BOYD.

Major-General Sir Charles Ross to Major Matthews.

Carlow, February 6, 1800.

Sir—In obedience to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant's commands, I request you will immediately state to me, in writing, answers to the following questions, viz.:—

1st. Have the officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers, and private soldiers of the Downshire Militia signed any petition against a Union, and by whom was such petition transmitted to them?

2nd. Were the officers, non-commissioned officers, privates, and drummers of the regiment assembled for the purpose of signing such petition, and where?

3rd. What description of people were allowed to sign the petition?

4th. Was it explained to the regiment that no officer, non-commissioned officer, drummer, or soldier in the regiment, was to sign the petition, who was not a Freeholder in the County of Down?

5th. To the best of your knowledge, did any officer, non-commissioned officer, drummer, or soldier, sign the petition who is not a Freeholder of the County Down, or who is not of the age of twenty-one?

6th. Was the name of any officer, non-commissioned officer, drummer, or private soldier of the regiment affixed to the petition who was not present at the time?

7th. Was the petition sent to the out-quarters of the regiment, or was there any communication with the officers or men of the regiment detached from the head-quarters on the subject?

In addition to the information required by my former letter, I request you will give me answers to the above questions.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CHARLES ROSS, Major-General.

Major Matthews to Major-General Sir Charles Ross.

Carlow, February 6, 1800.

Sir—Having read your letter of this date (stating several Questions for me to answer) with every attention in my power, I can not find there is any thing of a military nature in them, but that they all go to acts entirely civil; and, although I am ready and willing to do my duty as a soldier, and most implicitly to obey all my superior officers, yet I cannot think I am by any means bound to account for my conduct as a private citizen, to any but the civil powers of my country. I therefore, with every degree of respect for you, beg to decline any answer to your questions.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
GEORGE MATTHEWS, Major, R.DS. Regt.

Major-General Sir Charles Ross to Lieut.-Colonel Littlehales.

Dublin, February 7, 1800.

Sir—In obedience to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant's commands conveyed in your letter of the 4th instant, I lost no time in proceeding to Carlow, in order to investigate the different points alluded to in your directions to me.

The first object of inquiry was whether the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the Downshire Regiment of Militia had signed any petition against a Union, which Major Matthews (the commanding officer of the regiment) without hesitation answered in the affirmative, stating, at the same time, that several copies of it had been sent to him by Lord Downshire, in order that such officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the regiment as were Freeholders or inhabitants of the County Down might have an opportunity of signing it, which Lord Downshire stated in the envelope in which it was enclosed. Major Matthews said the officers of that regiment present at Carlow did assemble at his quarters for the purpose of signing it, which they did with very few exceptions. Amongst those that signed, I understand, were

two officers who are very much under age. The Adjutant of the regiment, in presence of Major Matthews, stated that the petition had lain at his house one entire day for the purpose of receiving the signatures of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers. In answer to my inquiry whether it was explained by him or any other person, to the soldiers, that none but such as were Freeholders of the County Down should sign the Petition, he said it was not, but that every soldier who pleased was allowed to sign it, and that those who could not write had their names affixed by others.

Wishing to ascertain the numbers that had signed, I asked Major Matthews the question, who said he could not exactly say, but he believed six or seven hundred; and as to the description of the soldiers who had signed, he stated that every man in the regiment was either a freeholder or an inhabitant of the County Down.

Though this investigation had taken place, and was taken down by me in substance, in presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Donaldson, Captain Boyd of the Downshire Regiment, and Brigade-Major Higgins, I conceived it would be more satisfactory to have answers to the different points from Major Matthews in writing. On my expressing this wish, he requested to have a written order to that purpose from me, which I gave him, with the questions annexed, marked No. 1, to which he promised to give written answers in half an hour. After waiting considerably beyond that period, I received the letter marked No. 2, delivered to me by the Adjutant. In consequence of it, I sent for Major Matthews, and stated to him, in presence of the gentlemen alluded to before, that the only capacity I could address him in was his military one, and that the object of my inquiry extended not only to him personally, but to the conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the Downshire Regiment of Militia, under his command; and that the object of the duty on which I was sent was solely the investigation of the subject,

and not to make any decision on it, either from his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant or myself, and that the answers he originally gave to my inquiries should regulate the report which I would make.

Having now stated the different occurrences which took place in the course of the investigation, it appears to me that a Petition against a Union was signed by a large proportion of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Downshire Regiment of Militia; that this Petition was transmitted to Major Matthews by Lord Downshire; that the officers did assemble at Major Matthews's quarters, and the non-commissioned officers and privates at the quarters of the Adjutant, for the purpose of signing it; that all the individuals of the regiment at the head-quarters, who chose to sign it, had an opportunity of doing so. It likewise appears, though I could not ascertain the exact numbers that signed the Petition, yet, from what Major Matthews stated to be the supposed number of signatures, they equalled, if not exceeded, the numbers of the regiment then at Carlow. It was impossible for me to ascertain the number of Freeholders in the regiment; but, on examining the description list of recruits lately joined, many of whom the Adjutant told me had signed the Petition, I perceived that a majority of them were under twenty years of age, and a great proportion under eighteen.

I have now represented my opinion on the different objects of investigation stated in your letter to me. Lieut.-Colonel Donaldson, Captain Boyd of the Downshire Regiment, and Brigade-Major Higgins, can substantiate the accuracy of the above statement. I have the honour to be, &c.,

CHARLES ROSS, Major-General.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Burlington House, February 13, 1800, 7 P.M.

My dear Lord—From the allusion I made, in my despatch to the Lord-Lieutenant of the 9th instant, to the possible ex-

pediency of rendering Lord Downshire's conduct a subject of Parliamentary inquiry, your Lordship may be the less surprised that, considering that measure to have become impracticable by the more summary and military mode of proceeding which has been adopted by the Lord-Lieutenant, I should continue so prepossessed in favour of the mode I suggested as to think it necessary to intimate my wishes more distinctly, in case the orders for the removal of Major Matthews, which were transmitted yesterday, shall happen not as yet to be carried into effect, that they may be suspended, at least, until it can be determined whether greater advantages might not result to Government by bringing his conduct, and that of any other officer or officers concerned in procuring the signatures of the regiment to the Petition, before the House of Commons, as a matter of privilege. This course would necessarily bring all parties before you, and enable you to expose the whole of the transaction, and to call down the vengeance of Parliament upon the instruments and authors, and the abetters of it, in such a manner as would not only completely ensure you against any attempts of a similar nature, but put the friends of Union upon such grounds as would give them a very decided advantage throughout the rest of the contest.

Your Lordship and the Lord-Lieutenant will consider yourselves at liberty to treat the proposal I have now submitted to you merely in the light of a suggestion, and by no means whatever as an instruction, or even as recommended to your adoption; and, indeed, it is for that reason that I address this letter to your Lordship rather than to his Excellency. But, feeling, as I do, the advantages which would result from the resentment of Parliament being roused, as it appears to me it might be, and as I conceive it would be, were the transaction represented to them in its true light, and all its bearings pointed out to them, the unconstitutional tendency of which every moment's reflection must render more evident and striking, I should not feel that I had fulfilled my private or public

duty, had I neglected to lay my thoughts upon the subject before you.

I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Grenville to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Cleveland Row, February 13, 1800.

My dear Lord—As I do not accurately recollect whether I had an opportunity of saying anything to you before you left London, on the subject of the trial of controverted elections of Members of the House of Commons on the part of Ireland in the United Parliament, and as it is a point on which I naturally feel a particular anxiety, I take the liberty of troubling you with a few lines on the subject, for your consideration.

The article, as it now stands, I hold to be clearly right, and that there would be the utmost danger in any attempt at any farther specification on the subject previously to the Union. The measure of Union itself would, I think, be unnecessarily embarrassed by clogging it with any details on this question, which is undoubtedly one of some difficulty; and, as the point is not one on which the wildest imagination can suppose that a majority of British Members could have an interest in making any provisions injurious to the fair trial of Irish elections, it does not seem to be naturally an object of previous stipulation on the part of Ireland, but one which would more probably be left to be regulated by the wisdom of the United Parliament; while, on the other hand, many inconveniences, and those of the most serious nature, would result from making these regulations any part of an immoveable treaty. We have already seen occasion to introduce more than one alteration into the law on the subject here, and there is still more reason to think that this might hereafter become necessary, as to the object now in question.

Trusting, therefore, that you will be successful in resisting any attempt to make provision on this subject beforehand,

otherwise than as it now stands in the resolution as opened to the Irish Parliament, I should think it unnecessary to break in upon you, in the present moment, with any discussion of future regulations upon the subject, if it were not that I feel much anxiety that even in debate no ideas should be held out, either of Committees to sit in Ireland, or (still less) of Committees to be wholly composed of Irish Members. The former, as it seems to me, would be destructive of the principle of the Union, and totally inconsistent with any form or principle of Parliamentary proceeding. Nothing could be more dangerous than to have, during the recess of Parliament, bodies of that description sitting in Ireland, with no check over them to control any proceedings they might adopt; for what other power could be allowed to interfere with the proceedings of a Committee of the House of Commons, acting as such, however unwarrantably or illegally!

The other idea—that of composing Committees exclusively of Irish Members—would be useless if they were not to sit in Ireland. It is, therefore, liable to all the objections which I have already stated; and it is besides inconsistent with the principle of the present Act, and calculated in effect to destroy all hope of impartiality in the trial, when the jury, instead of being chosen from among 558 or 658 Members, would be confined to such a number as 100, and those, too, the most influenced by local prejudices and connections.

All that I can think necessary to be done on the subject, and I have thought much upon it, is that the United Parliament should give a power to the parties to examine witnesses (in presence of counsel on both sides, and liable, therefore, to cross-examination), before some commission, duly constituted for the purpose, and to produce that evidence, reduced to writing and properly certified, before the Committee here. Even in this case, I would not preclude either party, if he chose to incur the expence, from the benefit of producing his

oral testimony before the Committee, but I would simply make the written evidence, taken as above, *admissible*.

This point may, however, I am aware, admit of some doubt. I am far from taking upon myself to decide upon what may be ultimately found right on this subject; but, seeing much danger in any ideas founded on the principle of any greater change than this, I was anxious to submit to your consideration these thoughts upon it. I trust we shall have full opportunities to consider them in a moment of more leisure to yourself than this can be.

Believe me ever, &c.,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, February 15, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have received the honour of your Grace's despatch, marked *private*, of the 13th instant. I have submitted your Grace's suggestions to the Lord-Lieutenant, and am to express to your Grace that, under all the circumstances, the leaning of his Excellency's opinion is against taking any Parliamentary proceeding against Major Matthews and the other officers who were actors in the business at Carlow.

The reasons which weigh with his Excellency, and which, I own, are equally convincing to me, are, that the effect already produced by the decision of the Lord-Lieutenant's conduct, supported as it is by his Majesty's sanction and the entire concurrence of his Ministers, carries with it every possible advantage that can be obtained. The friends of Government have warmly approved of what has been done, and the public mind is most favourably impressed by the energy of Government.

If a Parliamentary inquiry was instituted, it is possible that some legal niceties might occur to embarrass, and no ulterior good could be produced by further censure of a proceeding which no person has ventured to defend.

It might have the additional disadvantage of placing in opposition several respectable individuals, who are now gradually softening on the measure of Union, in the awkward predicament of appearing to give up the cause by joining in any proceeding against Lord Downshire; and your Grace will feel how injurious it must be, were any persons of respectability found even to palliate a conduct so pregnant with public danger.

Lord Cornwallis is strongly impressed with a sense of the decisive support his Government has received from your Grace on this important occasion; and I can venture to assure your Grace that, however much the event is in itself to be lamented, it has gone further to establish the authority of Government, and to confirm the attachment of our supporters, than any circumstance that has occurred in the course of the struggle.

I have the honour to remain, &c.;

CASTLEREAGH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, February 17, 1800.

My Lord—I had the honour of receiving last night, by the Express, your Excellency's despatches of the 10th, 11th, and 12th, with their several enclosures, and the same conveyance has this morning brought me yours of the 14th. Although the object I had in view, and the advantages which I conceive the cause of Government might derive from the unjustifiable course which had been pursued by Lord Downshire, made me so particularly anxious that no part of the proceeding against him should be liable to exception, and induced me consequently to suggest to your Excellency the greatest attention and caution in every stage of it, the power and instructions I sent you on Wednesday will satisfy you of the complete and perfect confidence with which his Majesty relies on your judgment, and of his determination to give you the most full and unqualified support, and will, at the same time convince you, better than

any thing else I can say, of the regret I feel at your having taken the very unnecessary trouble of entering into the long detail I had the honour of receiving from you this morning. I cannot, however, conclude this subject, without assuring you that, although my views and my habits might have led me not to pursue exactly the same course which your Excellency has taken, they would have brought me precisely to the same point, and that neither I nor any of his Majesty's servants would hesitate in concurring with you, that Lord Downshire's continuance in the command of his regiment or his other public situations would have been incompatible with the existence of your administration.[1]

Lord Downshire's fall was his own act, and it was necessary to make the example: your Excellency will lament that necessity as sincerely as those who are most intimately connected with him; but, at the same time, you will be entitled to the comfort of thinking that nothing has been omitted on your part to prevent it, and that, notwithstanding your lenity and forbearance, the dignity of Government has been duly sustained and its character preserved in a manner that must be highly gratifying to its best and truest friends.

I very sincerely congratulate your Excellency on the general concurrence with which the Army Estimates were voted, and on your triumphant success in the House of Lords. With such a leader as the Chancellor, and so respectable and able a body of supporters, the most sanguine hopes are sure of being fulfilled; and if talents and abilities can ensure the success of a good cause, no apprehension can be entertained that the discussion in the House of Commons will have a different issue.

I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

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[1] Lord Downshire was removed from the command of the Downshire Militia, from the Governorship of the County, from the office of Registrar in the Court of Chancery, and his name was erased from the list of the Privy Council.

William Rogers, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh.

Lisburn, February 19, 1800.

My Lord—It gives me pain to draw your Lordship's attention one moment from the important concerns you are engaged in at this juncture; but, as I find my tenants in the County of Down have been imposed upon by certain persons carrying false messages from me, to induce them to sign a Petition against the Union, I take the liberty to say they did it totally without my knowledge or approbation; and, as I must ever have an ambition to appear consistent to those I respect, I trust your Lordship will have the goodness to excuse me for this intrusion. I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM ROGERS.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Arlington Street, February 20, 1800.

Dear Castlereagh—I have just received the account, by express, that the first Resolution, that "there shall be a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland" has been carried, after the preliminary debate and division which has taken place.

I think I may now venture to congratulate you upon seeing your way, in a great degree, in this most important measure; and, although I doubt not you will have infinite difficulty in some of the details, I hope and believe you have not had to complain of the want of the expression of satisfaction from this side of the water, since the Duke of Portland's silence on the first communication. The fact is, that your despatches came just as the second letter from Buonaparte arrived; and the consideration of the manner in which that business should be taken up in Parliament certainly did prevent the Ministers from paying as much attention as they ought to the services of those who were exerting them elsewhere.

I hope you have quite recovered from your influenza, although you have scarcely had the fair advantage of one day's relaxation.

As I trust the principle of the measure is secured, which I never ventured to think till the account of the last division arrived, I beg you to offer my congratulations to Lord Cornwallis upon this event.

Believe me, &c., CAMDEN.

The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Private. Whitehall, Thursday, February 20, 1800.

My dear Lord—Although I have but a very few moments to spare, I cannot let the post go out without carrying my congratulations to your Excellency on the eventful and happy decision which the House of Commons came to on Tuesday morning, on the great leading article of the Union, the ultimate success of which, it appears, we are sufficiently authorized to look to with that degree of confidence which disposes one to calculate the time that may be necessary for its accomplishment, and indulge the expectation of receiving the articles from you, so as to admit of our concurrence in them before our adjournment for the Easter holidays. Excepting the articles which respect the representation and the commercial concerns, there are none which can occupy much of the time of Parliament; and I trust the event of Tuesday, and the sentiments which, I observe, have been avowed by Mr. J. C. Beresford, will secure you against unnecessary delay.

It is a most mortifying consideration that so glorious and happy a day as Tuesday promises to prove should have been stained by a circumstance so much to be lamented as the accident that happened to Mr. Corry. I am willing to hope that, by the manner in which you express yourself with respect to the consequences of his wound, there is no ground for serious apprehension; but, considering the circumstances, one cannot look but with satisfaction at the dissolution of the Assembly, by which such an event was suffered to take place.

I am, &c., PORTLAND.

The Earl of Carysfort[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Mountjoy Square, February 25, 1800.

My dear Lord—I am under an absolute necessity of going to England by the next packet, and therefore enclose a blank proxy, which I have executed, and will beg the favour of you to dispose of as you think fit. I shall hold myself in readiness to return, the moment I receive a summons from your Lordship, and intend, at any rate, to be present there when the Resolutions' return from England and the Bill is brought in.

I cannot help observing to you, that I have been hearing very general disapprobation of that part of the propositions which goes to empower the King to keep up the Peerage to the numbers at which it shall stand when the Union takes place. It must be owned that it bears very hard upon the interests and feelings of the present Peers; and, as any advantage to result from it to the public is not easily discernible, it appears to many a wanton insult, as well as a cruel injury. I cannot, indeed, persuade myself that the English Government have fully reflected upon the subject. The situation of the bulk of the Peerage would be sufficiently humiliating, even if the proportion between the numbers who are to sit, and those who are to be left out of Parliament, were to remain as at present; but the balance will not only be turned against them by a very numerous creation, previous to the Union taking place, but, in some degree, by the extinction, from time to time, of those Peerages, the possessors of which are at present Peers of Great Britain.

Might not some such plan as this be adopted, and diminish the present discontent, without materially affecting the patronage, which is all that I can find concerned in the business, of the English Ministry?—That the Crown should retain the power of creating new Peers to the amount of two-thirds of

[1] John Joshua, second Baron and first Earl of the Irish Peerage: created an English Baron of the same name in 1801.

the actual vacancies at any period; and, when the numbers shall be reduced to 100, over and above those who are or shall be Peers of the United Kingdom, then of creating, from time to time, as many as may be necessary to keep up the Peerage to that point.

I throw this out for your consideration, as it is certainly desirable not only to prevent opposition, but to carry the business through as much to everybody's satisfaction as you can. I shall certainly support what is already proposed, if you choose to adhere to it. I take with me blank proxies, to be executed by Lords Buckingham and Mountnorris, and think they will certainly be returned to this kingdom before the day appointed for the further proceedings of the Lords.

I remain, with great regard, &c.

CARYSFORT.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

[No date. Indorsed March, 1800.]

Dear Castlereagh—I have received your and Lord Londonderry's letters, and you will probably hear to-night from Charles his determination, which, I doubt not, will be to depart very speedily for Dublin. From the accounts which arrived on the day of his first receiving his father's letter, it appeared as if opposition upon the detail was withdrawn in some degree, and I therefore did not combat his wish to stay here till he could hear again from you.

I confess I do not think you are prudent in deferring the article relative to the representation, for it is a most important one, and if your argument is founded that the Opposition think frequent divisions tend to cement your party, surely it would be politic to pledge them as early as possible upon that measure.

Most sincerely yours,

CAMDEN.

I will write to you respecting continental circumstances in a post or two.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Secret. Whitehall, March 6, 1800.

My dear Lord—The Duke of Portland's letter to the Lord-Lieutenant, which accompanies this, is an answer of yours to me of the 3rd inst. I have nothing further, therefore, to add on that subject. And, lest Mr. Pitt should not be able to fulfil his intention of writing to you to-day on the subject of muslins, &c., the Duke of Portland has taken this opportunity of adding a short letter to his Excellency on that point also, which, I trust, will be sufficient to answer your purpose until you hear more at large from Mr. Pitt.

Many of our merchants are sending out vessels to Sicily and the Barbary States for grain. To encourage this trade, and to facilitate the procuring of cargoes, I enclose you a copy of our circular letter to all our consuls to the Barbary States.

Should the French or the combined fleets venture to leave Brest, I think the disposition of our naval force here will afford security to Ireland, as well as to our more distant possessions, supposing either one or the other of them to be threatened: for we have now about 24 sail off Brest, and at least 14 in Torbay. At the same time, I conceive it would be bad policy, in every sense, to consider Ireland in any other light than as the point which is threatened. It is, therefore, I believe, proposed to send 2000 of the Guards immediately to Ireland, to be followed by other 2000, and, in return, to withdraw about 2000 of the regular battalions now with you, which will leave you an excess over present numbers of 2000 men.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.,

J. KING.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, March 6, 1800.

My Lord—I lose no time in acquainting your Excellency, in consequence of the letter to Mr. King, received yesterday from

Lord Castlereagh, containing a brief statement of the result of the proceedings of the Corn Committee, and an intimation of their opinion, that the deficiency may be in some measure supplied by the importation of rice and Indian corn from North America, that no objection will be made to the proposal of giving a conditional bounty of 10 per cent. on the importation of those articles into Ireland, if it should continue to be thought a necessary or desirable measure by the Government of the country. But, as it appears, by the evidence which has been given to the Committee of the House of Commons, which has been sitting here on the same subject, that the price which rice bears at present in this is full 30 per cent. higher than in any other country, it should seem very doubtful whether any material advantage would be derived from any premium which could be offered by the Irish Parliament for the importation of it.

By the information I have given your Excellency of the price which that commodity bears in our markets, you will be able to judge whether the intention of the Committee of the Irish House of Commons is likely to be attended with any effect, and if it should, as I have said before, your Excellency is fully authorized to sanction the experiment. As the Report, however, of our Committee will be published, and as I shall take care that copies of it shall be immediately sent to your Excellency by express, you will probably judge it to be most expedient to defer any determination upon this or any other part of this important subject, until you have had an opportunity of considering all the information which has been collected respecting it on this side of the water, and of availing yourself of the observations and sentiments of the Committee, which, as you may naturally suppose, was composed of persons the most eminent for their knowledge and experience in agriculture and commerce, as well as for their talents and abilities in all other respects.

I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, Thursday, March 6, 1800.

My dear Lord—As Mr. Pitt hopes he shall be able to write to Lord Castlereagh on the subject of the duties on cotton in the course of this day or to-morrow at farthest, I have no other object in writing to you, than to relieve you from any anxiety which the suspense you may have been in with regard to them may have occasioned, by informing you that it will be left to your Excellency to make the best bargain you can for this country, in conceding this point to the wishes of the Irish; but, at the same time, you will take occasion to observe to them that, if there should be any article in which our manufacturers should think it necessary to insist upon a similar species of protection to this which is now required for the cotton manufactories of Ireland, the Irish will not be considered as having any right to complain if the British manufacturer should be treated with the same sort of indulgence. It is, however, certainly to be wished that cases of this kind should occur as seldom as possible in the course of this arrangement. But I cannot help adding, such is the importance of its accomplishment, that it is not a consideration of a little more or a little less duty that can prevent it, or even be suffered to retard its progress.

I am, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Confidential. Palace Yard, March 6, 1800.

My dear Lord—I had this morning a full conversation with Mr. Pitt respecting your wish (if it should become material) to consent to a gradual lowering of the duties on cottons. Lord Liverpool, with whom I had talked upon that point a few days ago, seemed to think that such a concession would hurt the principle of the whole commercial arrangement. Mr. Pitt, who has had occasion to advert more fully and more correctly to the subject, promised that he would write to you to-day, but I

have reason to believe that he is much occupied. His opinion decidedly is that, if your consent to the gradual lowering of the duties either on the cottons "or on any other article," so as to bring them to the protecting duty within the space of ten years, (or any other short period) would really facilitate the business, you should take such a step on your own judgment and responsibility; and he authorized me to assure you that it should have his full avowal and support.

In truth, I think that your cotton manufacturers (I do not know whether they are numerous) may have more ground for alarm from a sudden lowering of the duties, than has been sufficient in many cases to create much clamour: it is also possible that, in some branches of trade, we may (though with less reason) be urged to give some reciprocal indulgence to some class of our manufacturers. Already, some of our woollen people in Yorkshire are sending up strong remonstrances against our opening the export of wool.

We continue without any continental communications, and six Hamburgh mails are due. I therefore do not know any news beyond the occurrences of the day stated in the public papers. The reduction in the consumption of bread is becoming very general.

Believe me, &c., AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Friday.

My dear Lord—Mr. Pitt is well to-day, and has no doubt that the Fourth Article may go through the Committee of the Commons to-day, though he expects a considerable debate. I think it probable that the Lords will take the Eighth Article to-day, but I have not yet heard from Lord Grenville.

Mr. Peel[1] has had a long conference with me this morning: the cotton manufacturers are greatly discontented with your continuing, for so long a period, the prohibitory duties on their

[1] Afterwards created a baronet, father of the present Sir Robert Peel.

printed calicoes, muslins, &c. Mr. Peel is very liberal and right-minded, and I have reason to believe that he will make a speech to-day to say that Ireland is much too well treated, but that he and others cordially acquiesce, under a conviction that the general arrangement is wise and most beneficial to all. I did not discourage this sort of speech. It will do no harm with us and good with you. In the wording of the Article, it looks as if calicoes and muslins were to pay a duty only on going *into* Ireland, and none here.

I enclose a paper from the booksellers, and am to see them on Monday morning, or Mr. Strahan on their part.

Believe me, &c. AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh.

Downing Street, March 7, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have inadvertently delayed a much longer time than I ought answering your letter on the subject of the duties on cotton, but I hope the suspense will not have produced any material inconvenience. I certainly shall regret any interval which postpones the reduction of duties on any article of manufacture to the amount consistent with the general principle of liberal intercourse which we wish to establish, and I am not wholly without apprehension that any exception in favour of Ireland may make it difficult here to resist introducing some exception of a similar nature, either with respect to the import of some article of manufacture, or the export of some article of raw material from hence, which may become the object of jealousy.

But, though I think it right to state this apprehension, and, for that reason, among others, should be desirous that the duty on cottons should be reduced as speedily as possible to the rate of 10 per cent., I by no means wish that, by contending on this point, you should expose yourself to any risk, or even any material additional difficulty in the general system. I know you will be as anxious as myself to make no greater concession

than is necessary; and I have therefore only to beg you to exercise your own discretion, both as to rate of duty to be established at present and as to the time and proportion of the several stages of reduction, which may gradually bring it to the amount originally proposed. I have thought it better to trouble you with this opinion in a private letter, than to make it the subject of any official communication.

I am, my dear Lord,

Yours very faithfully and sincerely,

W. PITT.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rose.

Private. Dublin Castle, March 7, 1800.

My dear Sir—I wrote to Mr. Pitt, some days since, on the subject of the duty to be imposed, after the Union, on British calicoes and muslins, on their import into Ireland. As we are now delayed, waiting his decision on this point, I earnestly beg you will have the goodness to convey to me his sentiments, if possible, by the return of the express.

You will observe that, by the schedule, cottons are to be importable into either country from the other at a duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. I understand it will, at all events, be necessary to include muslins and calicoes specifically, as duty would not attach upon them as cottons. The present duties on these articles are prohibitory, being, according to the quality, from 35 to 50 per cent. The manufacturers have petitioned against their reduction: they have produced evidence, and been heard by counsel; they are monopolists in principle, argue upon the necessity of totally excluding British articles of the above description, and of course cannot be listened to; but the facts stated do certainly make a case, which, I trust, will induce Mr. Pitt to acquiesce in the gradual, instead of the immediate, reduction of the duties on muslins and calicoes.

It appears that this branch of trade ranks next to linens in its extent, the value manufactured annually being stated at

from 6 to £700,000 worth. We import £130,000 of cottons from England, principally of the class of fustians; but the entire consumption in calicoes and muslins is supplied by ourselves. It appears that the difference of price to the consumer is, as might be supposed, enormous, nearly equivalent to the duty, and that these extravagant profits have enabled the master manufacturers to give higher wages to all classes of their workmen than are given in England. It is evident, under these circumstances, that a sudden reduction of the duty must, at least for a time, ruin the trade, which now employs from 30,000 to 40,000 persons. The individuals have little capital to bear a shock; and it would require a length of time before the various gradations of the manufacturers could accommodate themselves in their profits to so new, though, upon general principles, a much better, order of things.

The opinion which I have formed, in which Mr. Beresford concurs, is to recommend that the existing duty should be continued for a certain number of years, and then reduced gradually, so as to bring it to a 10 per cent. duty within the period of twenty years. This, I conceive, would preclude any shock, and accomplish our principle within a reasonable time. I am sorry to be obliged to press any departure from the 10 per cent. regulation, but trust Mr. Pitt will be the less averse to it, as it will be, upon the face of it, determinable, and it is the solitary instance of a prohibitory duty on this side of the Channel: consequently, the difficulty, and of course the objection, narrows itself to this point; and it may be stated that, though the stronger country can venture to lay down her prohibitions at once, in the case of the weaker a more gradual measure is requisite.

I am the more induced to hope that Mr. Pitt will enable me to soften the opposition on this point, which is warmly pressed both by Cork and Belfast, as he gave me to understand, when in England, that he would not be averse to give a temporary accommodation to the feelings of this country, where it might be important to the measure, and did not ultimately interfere

with the perfect commercial incorporation of the two countries.

I enclose the Speaker's speech: you will observe, from the schedule, the line of opposition he will take on the commercial article—upholding the commercial propositions of 1785, as only reducing the duties to the lowest in either country—that was, in fact, to the Irish duties; whereas, this measure goes to take off all duty from above 70 different articles.

Believe to be, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. March 10, 1800.

My Lord—Although I necessarily feel a reluctance to obtrude myself upon your Lordship with an unsolicited opinion on any part of the great measure that you are so successfully bringing to perfection, yet I have that reliance on your Lordship's candour and goodness, that I venture to trouble you for a moment on the subject of the Union of the Churches, and the Episcopal Representation.

In the paper which I transmitted to your Lordship in London, I mentioned an apprehension that some Bishops might be found on our bench who would oppose every arrangement that did not originate with themselves. I did not make the assertion lightly, and I find my apprehensions were not groundless. The Archbishop of Cashel, at a meeting of the Bishops, preparatory to the fast, took occasion to condemn the entire article respecting the identifying of the two churches. He said, if the Government wished to unite the two Churches, he would make no objection, but that it would be essentially necessary to change the whole article, so as to secure the Church of Ireland against all possibility of change or alteration. He could not say what might become of the Church of England hereafter, but it was incumbent upon us to take care of the Church of Ireland, and he should prepare another

article, looking to that which he should propose to the Lord-Lieutenant and your Lordship to substitute in the place of the article originally laid before Parliament.

To me and to all the other Bishops it appeared perfectly unintelligible how, in an article that was to abolish the Church of Ireland as separate or distinct from the Church of England, and to incorporate and identify the two Churches for ever under the name of the Church of England alone, the distinction of the Church of Ireland should still be preserved, and a stipulation made that it should be secure for ever against all change or alteration. The very intent and meaning of the article is to preserve the doctrines, the worship, and establishment of the Protestant religion, as now professed and maintained in Ireland, against all chance, all danger of change or alteration, by abolishing the distinction of the Church of Ireland, and making it merge into that of England; and what could be so glaring a contradiction as to introduce any worship that should convey an idea of distinction, or separatedness, or suppose a possibility of their not continuing one and the same for ever, and under all circumstances!

At the close of the original article, the doctrines, the discipline, the forms, and the worship of the Church of England, as now professed and established, are essentially secured under the proposed Union; and, by identifying the two Churches, and making them for ever one, the doctrines, the discipline, the forms, and the worship of the Church of Ireland, as now professed and established, being the same with those of the Church of England, are of course secured for ever.

In a private conversation with myself, the Archbishop treated that part of the article that mentioned the Convocation as idle and foolish. Nothing, however, can be more essentially necessary to the identity of the Churches. From the time that the Clergy ceased to tax themselves in Convocation, and mixed in that particular with the great mass of the people, by acquiring the right of voting at elections for the members of

the House of Commons, Convocations have not been viewed in the same light as of old. But the calling together the Convocation for ecclesiastical purposes, although entirely laid aside in this country, continues unaltered in England, and it is as regularly convened by the King's writ as the Parliament. The Archbishop talked of the absurdity of calling so many of the Irish Clergy to London: but he forgot that the Convocations are provincial, and the Clergy to be convened in their respective provinces. But what the Archbishop seemed chiefly to reprobate was, the idea of having any other representatives of the Bishops in the United Parliament than the four metropolitans. The idea of having a rotation of Bishops he treated as absurd, inasmuch as it would be impossible for any Bishop to make himself acquainted with parliamentary business during the short period for which he should sit in Parliament. I found most of the Bishops, indeed I may say all, agreeing with me, that acquiring a knowledge of parliamentary business was no very essential a requisite to the episcopal character. The interests of the Church in Ireland, the chief object of their attention as legislators, would be best known to them by a residence in their respective dioceses; and, at all events, nothing connected with that part of their duty could come in competition with the flagrant neglect of their pastoral functions, to which the Archbishop's regulation would necessarily open a door. Exclusive of their metropolitical jurisdiction, to which constant recourse must be had in this kingdom, the Archbishops have each an extensive diocese to superintend; and, of all the Bishops, the presence of the Primate and of the Archbishop of Dublin is the essential. There is scarcely a great institution to which they are not acting trustees, nor a charitable Board at which their attendance is not essentially necessary.

If I were not afraid of breaking in too long upon your Lordship, I could state to you a variety of other reasons for opposing the regulation, which, on the very face of it, tends to render

the four Archbishops eternal absentees, and to introduce the same disorders in the Church in this kingdom that required the intervention of Parliament, under the reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. L. MEATH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Bulstrode, Wednesday, March 12, 1800.

My dear Lord—Although our friend King has not yet been able to fulfil the engagement he made with me, respecting your letter, the contents had made too great an impression upon me to suffer me to wait for it, or to let any other consideration prevent my endeavours to remove the anxiety which you feel in the supposition of your progress not having kept pace with the expectations of the King's confidential servants—a supposition which, I assure you, is totally groundless, and inconsistent with the confidence which they are disposed, and most fully warranted, to repose in your zeal as well as in your judgment. I think it is extremely probable that impatience may have been expressed, and that you may have heard of the calculations made of the time when the articles would be returned, when the attendance of members here would be desirable upon the question of Union. The liberality of the terms offered to Ireland, the very able and advantageous manner in which they have been opened, and the very great superiority which you have manifested in all the debates on the subject, will not unnaturally or very unreasonably have led people here to infer that the point was carried, and that there could be no serious intention of *fighting the details*, which cannot but prove more strongly the utility, the advantage, and the necessity of the measure, and expose the ignorance, the arrogance, and the interested or treacherous designs of its opponents. But, although hopes of this business being completed within a proportionable space to that which was given to the

discussion of it last Session in the Parliament of this kingdom should have been generally expressed, the knowledge which the Members of Government have of the difficulties of every description with which you have to contend, makes them as incapable of suspecting you of having suffered the measure to have been unnecessarily delayed, as of having omitted or neglected to avail yourself of any circumstance which could promote or insure its success.

Let me, therefore, entreat you, my dear Lord, to disregard absolutely whatever reports may reach you respecting the impatience or the doubts of Administration concerning the progress of the great business you have in hand. Whatever may be its progress, be assured that we shall be perfectly satisfied with it, and that every one of the King's servants will be equally ready to give you unlimited credit and unreserved support for the ability which you have uniformly shown throughout the conduct of this great measure, and with which, I trust, you will bring it to a successful and happy issue, notwithstanding all the disappointments to which you will be exposed by timidity and baseness, and the delays and obstacles which will be opposed to it by interested and disappointed ambition. Such victories as you gained the other day over one of the champions of the Opposition, and, as the public voice says, (for I have not been fortunate enough to see the papers which contained an account of the debate in which you confuted the Speaker), you came off as triumphantly some days before from another, cannot fail, I think, in as effectually securing the success of the measure as it has already done in establishing the fame of your own talents and character.

Believe me most sincerely, &c., PORTLAND.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Wildernesse, March 23, 1800.

Dear Castlereagh—The busy idleness of London has prevented me from writing to you either in answer to your last

letter or before I received it; and I take advantage of having come to this place by myself not only to address you, but to exonerate myself from various epistolary debts.

The Duke of Portland showed me the draft of his letter to you, which, I assure you, conveyed the unanimous opinion of all those who have witnessed the zeal, ability, and spirit, with which you have gone through this Session. I promise you that Mr. Pitt has spoken of you in the way you could wish, and the private letters from Ireland contain perfect satisfaction in your Parliamentary exertions. You have therefore the greatest reason to be satisfied with yourself—the best person to be satisfied with.

I had meant, but was prevented, to reply to the proposition you made in your letter as soon as I received it—I mean, to that of coming to England during the period when the Articles are debating here, and to have strongly advised you not to persist in that intention. As you observe that it is possible the Opposition may raise some clamour, and may be enabled to make some impression during the recess, who is so likely to counteract it as yourself? for you may be assured, when the principal is absent, there is a sort of languor in the general proceedings, extremely detrimental to the cause. I hope, therefore, I confess, not to see you yet, and I rather imagine you will not receive encouragement from hence, for I know how much your presence is thought necessary in Ireland; and Cooke or Beresford would be able to give information upon the details very advantageously, and can be better spared from Ireland.

The Speaker has disappointed me. The zeal he showed in difficult periods of my Government, and a higher opinion than, I confess, I now entertain of his ability, had made me very desirous of his adopting that line of conduct which would make his return to Government not very difficult; and I alike wished Government not to drive him unnecessarily into violent opposition. I must allow, however, in his Speech and in his

late conduct, he has opposed the measure so much more violently than was necessary, and has shown so much partiality, that I unwillingly think he will not be able to retrieve himself; and your party seem now to be so much more firm, that I do not think his opposition any longer as formidable as it has been. We hope not to detain the Articles here longer than three weeks, and I hope all the business may be gone through by the end of July, in both countries.

The suspense we are in, from the continuance of the frost, respecting all continental intelligence, is most provoking, and prevents active operations. We hope, and have reason to believe, however, that a despatch which was sent through France, assuring Austria of our active and zealous co-operation, has arrived, by which means they will know our intention before it it is necessary to reply to Buonaparte's overtures. Much indeed depends on the steadiness of that court, upon which we have not too much reason to rely: at the same time, they have appeared more in earnest, and it certainly is their policy at present to proceed, as their aggrandizement is our object as well as their own, as a most powerful neighbour on that side of France is more than ever necessary.

Believe me, &c., CAMDEN.

London, March 24.

I did not seal my letter till I came to town, which I am very glad I did not, as it enables me to give you intelligence you will be glad to receive that "our accounts from Austria are very satisfactory, and that the campaign opens with very fair prospects of success." C.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Camden.

Private. Augsburg, March 26, 1800.

My Lord—I had much pleasure in receiving a letter from your Lordship, though on so very melancholy an occasion as Mr. Stewart's illness.

I have read with all possible attention and interest all that has passed in the two Houses in Ireland since the meeting of Parliament; and I own that my friendship and esteem for Lord Castlereagh have increased, notwithstanding that our correspondence, to my very great regret and loss, exists no longer. To say the truth, with the occupation we each of us now have, it would be wrong in us to think of writing to each other. I beg, however, that your Lordship will have the goodness to remember me to him on the first occasion, and to assure him that I shall ever remember the pleasure and satisfaction I derived from his correspondence.

Your Lordship is very good to speak so kindly of my poor exertions in this quarter. If they are crowned with any success, I shall then feel myself truly happy. The only merit I can take to myself is the having foreseen, at an early hour, that the Russians and Austrians could not possibly go on together, and that we must look elsewhere than at Petersburg for the means of breaking the Consular force.

I have very good hopes of the present state of things. Our enemy is certainly strong, but we are at least equal to him, and have a reunion of force and talents such as has seldom, if ever, been seen in Germany.

With many thanks for all your Lordship's goodness, of which I shall long have the most pleasant remembrance, I remain, &c.,

WM. WICKHAM.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. London, April 5, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have seen the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt a second time. The Duke is anxious to send you the needful. Mr. Pitt was equally disposed, but fears it is impossible to the extent. He will contrive to let you have from £8,000 to £10,000 for five years. He will make no alterations: however the woollen manufacturers press that, as the

raw material is to be given, all the duties on woollens should cease. Mr. Pitt wishes you could let him know the sense of the Irish manufacturers on this point, in case they should wish the abolition of duties. He will, however, keep things as they are; but doing so may occasion delay. I hope to find out to-night what sum can be sent.

Mr. Pitt talked of the Bishop of Clogher for the Primacy. I believe he will accept whomever my Lord-Lieutenant proposes. He is anxious that, if there be a run of petitions to the King against Union, counter-declarations should be renewed, if you saw it could be done with success. He is afraid that, if the petitions should become very numerous and not be counteracted, an impression will be made as to the sense of the people being against the measure. He wishes much for counter-declarations from our friends. He will consider the point of the Speaker's refusing to put the question. He will consider of some measure as to controverted elections, if he can.

Mr. Pitt approves of the taking advantage of the vacancies in the Civil List. Quere—Will the law allow you to increase the number of Commissioners of Boards? He approves fully of what was done on the Agistment question. He wishes that you would not adjourn over the 5th. He thinks the Resolutions will be back with you by that day, and that, at least, you can go on with the Representation Bill. He approves the idea of balloting such towns as are equal in importance. He wishes not to alter the day for the Union commencing.

The 2000 Guards will be in Ireland by the 1st of May.

There seems to be entire satisfaction in my Lord-Lieutenant's and your conduct, and you are in high feather here.

The Bishop of Ferns's point does not seem to be of any importance.

I beg you will present my duty to my Lord-Lieutenant, and believe me, &c.,

E. Cooke.

Lord Darnley is in the country: I have sent a messenger to him. The Bills will be sent off to-morrow. Tierney intimated last night that it was only intended to debate the Representation part—Ponsonby holds the Speaker's language, that "it is impossible the Bill can pass." It is meant to contend here that Ireland is unanimous against it.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, April 5, 1800.

My dear Lord—As you will be anxious to receive an answer to that part of one of your letters of the 2nd, which relates to the period to which it will be advisable to adjourn after the 10th of this month, I lose no time in informing you that, upon the Duke of Portland's communicating with Mr. Pitt upon the subject, the latter has no doubt that the adjournment in Ireland ought not to be later than the 5th of May, as, unless any great difficulty arises on the commercial question, particularly concerning woollens, there is every reason to believe the Resolutions will have been transmitted before that time. In a separate cover, I send you the Union papers, as printed here.

There is no news of any sort; but I think our friends here continue strongly to surmise—and, after all, it can only be surmise—that the Brest fleet is destined to act against Portugal.

I should add, in speaking of your adjournment, that, although our House of Lords do not begin upon the question of Union so early as the Commons, yet Lord Grenville has not the smallest doubt of their concluding some days before the 5th of May. Your other letter of the 2nd of April I have communicated to Mr. Pitt. Believe me, &c.,

J. KING.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Thursday, half-past one [April, 1800].

My dear Lord—Mr. Pitt, having had a long and very useful altercation yesterday with Mr. Tierney on the question of

the export of bullion to pay subsidies, found last night that he had lost his voice. He rallied a little this morning at breakfast; but now again finds his voice so very feeble that he cannot possibly undertake the debate on the Parliamentary Article. He has therefore postponed it till to-morrow.—We are willing to persuade ourselves that we shall not lose an hour by this, and probably we shall not; for the woollen people insist on being heard, and give notice, through Mr. Wilberforce, that they cannot be ready before Monday. If they could have been ready to-morrow, Mr. Pitt would, at any risk or inconvenience, have proceeded with the Parliamentary Article to-day.

I hope that the House of Lords will proceed to-morrow with the Contribution Article, though Lord Grenville also is not quite well.

We shall move in both Houses to-day to beg for a statement of the Countervailing Duties, and it is the opinion that we must take all articles paying internal duties, otherwise we should not be entitled to give the drawback otherwise than in the exploded form of a bounty. It is our present plan only to propose the existing drawback as the measure of our Countervailing Duties, although they are in many cases considerably below what the Countervailing Duties ought to be. This is liberality on our part, and I hope that none of our manufacturers will oppose it. We will give them notice by printing the intended rates, not by asking their opinions, which, of course, if solicited, would be full of objections.

Our List is unavoidably long, videlicet:—

Beer,	Hops,
Bricks and Tiles,	Leather,
Candles,	Mead and Metheglin,
Chocolate and Cocoa,	Paper and Books,
Cordage,	Printed Goods,
Cider and Perry, as merchandize or for sale,	Salt,
	Silk,
Glass,	Soap,

Spirits,	Tobacco and Snuff,
Starch and Hairpowder,	Verjuice and Vinegar,
Sugar,	Wine.
Sweets,	

We presume that you will take the ratio and system of our Countervailing Duties, proportioning them to your difference of duty on the raw materials: for instance, if we should take 5*s.* on silk manufactures or on ribbons, that, your duty on the material being rather more than the half of ours, you will take 2*s.* 8*d.*, and so in analogous cases. You are aware, that the lower we put out Countervailing Duties reciprocally, the more favourable will be the result in regard to Ireland, because we shall in consequence give a lower drawback (or bounty) on the export.

I this moment received a note from Lord Grenville that he hopes to be well enough to attend to-morrow: we will accordingly give a notice to-day to proceed to-morrow on the Contribution Article.

There seems to be a difficulty in your Article which says that the duties on the woollen manufactures shall continue as at present. Blankets and carpets are woollen manufactures, and paid duties *above* 10 *per cent.*, which duties by those words would be continued—on the contrary, (though those high duties would also break through our principle,) you do not mean, as appears by Foster's Speech, that they should pay any duty. I believe that the words should be "new and old drapery."

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

We will not propose the 10 per cent. on the mixed manufactures; but will leave them to the protection of the Countervailing Duty.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Palace Yard, April 6.

My dear Lord—We go on swimmingly. The House of Commons are not unlikely to finish and report on Thursday or Friday next; for, as yet, we have no reason to believe that the woollen business will occupy above one day, or two at the most; and we do not think that the Lords will be above one day behind the Commons. It is, therefore, within a reasonable hope that the joint Address may be arrived at on Monday the 5th, or Tuesday the 6th of May; and my original prophecy that you may expect the Articles to be returned about the 8th will be verified.

A copy (printed) of our proposed Countervailing Duties and of the documents on which they depend shall be forwarded to you next Monday. Would it not be right, in the first instance, at your meeting, to vote your Schedule of Countervailing Duties, and to transmit it to us?—for, till we have adopted it and sent it back to you, you will not, in fact, be in possession of a complete set of Articles on the part of the British Parliament. I presume that you will adopt our principle as to each Countervailing Duty, in which case the question of yours will be matter of mere arithmetic, explaining whether in British or Irish money.

I do not foresee, though we necessarily make many verbal alterations, and some which are substantial, that you will find any thing in the returned Articles that can materially embarrass you; and many of our alterations are pointedly in favour of Ireland; so as to obviate any doubtful interpretations, that might by possibility not be conformable to her intentions.

I write this scrawl with Mr. Frewin, of the Customs, and Mr. Jackson, of the Excise, talking in the room.

The only delay that may carry us beyond what I have stated above would be on the part of the woollen people, if they were to take more time in either House than at present seems likely.

I am, &c., AUCKLAND.

Lord Glandore to Lord Castlereagh.

Sackville Street, Monday, April 7, 1800.

My dear Lord—In addition to what I had the honour to suggest to your Lordship, in our late conversation, upon the subject of the Bill for regulating the election of the Peers to sit in Parliament, it has since occurred to me that, besides exempting the Representative Peers from the obligation of taking the Oaths in Ireland, preparatory to their voting at the election of a Peer, it would be right to extend the like to those Peers of Ireland who are also Peers of Great Britain, upon the principle that all Peers of Ireland who have seats in the House of Lords, and are attending their duty in Parliament, should enjoy all the privileges and advantages incidental to the condition of the Peerage; whilst, on the other hand, such of our order as shall condescend to avail themselves of the degrading privilege of sitting in the House of Commons should be deprived of all.

Moreover, I conceive it to be of great importance that the weight in elections should rest with those Peers who are of the first consequence in the country.

The very favourable and flattering manner with which your Lordship received the hints I before suggested to you, has encouraged me to offer the foregoing to your consideration.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

GLANDORE.

The Rev. Dr. Bruce to Lord Castlereagh.

Belfast, April 9, 1800.

My Lord—While the proposed Union excites such a lively sensation in every class of people, your Lordship will not be surprised that the Presbyterians should be anxious to know how far their interests and privileges may be affected by it. As a considerable accession of power is to accrue to the Establishment from a union of the two Episcopal Churches, it is

natural for sectaries to hope that their security will at least not be impaired, or themselves exposed to the malice and bigotry of any future ecclesiastical faction: and when they observe that the concluding Article leaves it in the power of the United Parliament to modify all Laws which shall not be expressly recognised by the Act of Union, they must be under some degree of apprehension, until their privileges be put out of danger. Such considerations as these have induced some respectable ministers to wish that the advantages we have hitherto enjoyed may be in some manner referred to, or incorporated, in the compact between the two Kingdoms.

This wish, my Lord, does not originate in any desire to embarrass Government, nor, in my opinion, can the agitation of our claims have any such effect. For my own part, after very deliberate and dispassionate consideration, I am a decided friend to the Union, and, at the same time, so sensible of the great difficulties and jarring interests which your Lordship has to encounter and reconcile, that I should willingly sacrifice a personal advantage rather than impede such a necessary measure. I am so far from desiring to add to the perplexity of this vast business, that I am in some degree actuated by a persuasion that a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of the Presbyterians will essentially promote the grand object which Government has in view. This I conceive to be the tranquillity of the country, which, I presume, will be best provided for by placing every class of subjects on a good and unalterable footing, so as to give content and security. From the temper with which the Union has been received in this country, I am persuaded that its popularity and efficacy, in this point of view, will depend on the terms, and the measure suggested in this letter cannot fail to be very acceptable to the great majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, any vexatious interference on the part of the Church would produce greater discontent than the most grievous exertion of civil authority. I am, therefore, humbly of opinion that it is consonant to this intention of Go-

vernment to quiet all such fears and to bar all such irritation for ever. With respect to any additional advantages that may be intended for us, we freely leave them to the liberality of Government and the long-experienced bounty of the Crown. We are only anxious at present to have our rights ascertained and perpetuated on the principles on which they were conferred.

It is not necessary to trouble your Lordship with any detail of our transplantation into this country, the important services performed by our ancestors, and the grants and immunities bestowed upon us in different reigns. Your Lordship knows that we are not Dissenters in the same sense with the Puritans of England and their descendants, but were planted here by Government as a separate Church, and never belonged to the Church of Ireland, but zealously and effectually co-operated with it in the settlement, reformation, and preservation of this kingdom.

By 6 George I., c. 5, we are exempted from a variety of penalties and discouragements, and our worshipping Societies are protected. By 11 George II., c. 10, our people are secured against ecclesiastical prosecution on account of Presbyterian marriages. By 21 of George III., c. 25, marriages celebrated by Dissenting ministers between Dissenters are declared valid. By 32 George III., c. 11, s. 12, we are authorized to solemnize marriages between Dissenters and Catholics, and, by another Statute of the present King, the Test Act was repealed. These, my Lord, are valuable privileges, but they are precarious under the Articles of Union; and your Lordship will readily sympathize with us in our anxiety to have them ratified. They are also essentially different from the Catholic claims. Ours are ancient, theirs are novel; ours have been already enacted by Parliament, theirs it is thought hazardous to propose to our Legislature. Their pretensions may be more wisely and liberally disposed of by the Imperial Parliament: ours can be felt and understood only in Ireland.

This last observation, my Lord, I wish to impress deeply upon your mind. Were there no other difference between the settlement of this question by the Irish and by the Imperial Parliament, this has very considerable weight, that we could rest upon a recognition in the Act of Union as irreversible and calculated to inspire perfect confidence; whereas, any Statute passed subsequent to the Union may be repealed. But, my Lord, there is this essential distinction that our history is perfectly well known, both to the Executive Government and the Parliament of this country; while, in England, we are either unknown, or looked upon as an obscure sect of schismatics. Another point of difference is, that the Imperial Parliament cannot confer any benefit upon us that they shall not be prepared to extend to the English Dissenters, and might even be persuaded to reduce us to the same level. There is yet another circumstance, which, your Lordship must allow me to say, is of primary importance in this business—I mean, the personal character and connexions of his Excellency and your Lordship. To both the history and state of this country are well known, and both are anxious for its tranquillity and prosperity; but we naturally look to your Lordship, as a native of Ireland and of Ulster, interested in the welfare and ambitious of the approbation of this part of the kingdom, and descended from a father and grandfather who have been distinguished by singular constancy in their adherence to our principles and communion. We, therefore, cannot willingly forego the patronage of such a friend, in such a situation as your Lordship holds.

I hope, my Lord, I have chosen the most favourable season for this application, when your Lordship has surmounted the principal difficulties of this arduous undertaking, and may be reasonably supposed to have leisure to attend to minuter parts of the detail. One reason for intruding on your Lordship at all is, that you might wish to be apprized of the business to be laid before the standing Committee of the Synod, should

that body be convened, which some gentlemen have in contemplation.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM BRUCE.

The Right Hon. G. Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Old Palace Yard, April 10, 1800.

My dear Lord—Mr. Cooke has put into my hand a letter from Mr. Maclean, of the Custom House, to you, enclosing Schedules, prepared by the Commissioners of the Revenue, of such duties as they conceived will be necessary to lay upon certain articles enumerated, the produce of Great Britain, in order to countervail the internal duties which exist in Ireland upon similar articles, the produce or manufacture of the latter. On the first view of this Schedule, it appears indispensably necessary that it should be reconsidered. In the instance of silk, the proposed duties would operate as a complete prohibition of the article, because the arrangement presumes that, *in all cases*, 16 ounces of thrown silk will make but 12 ounces of manufactured, and the rate is suggested according to these proportions: whereas, in some instances, (from the addition of gum, &c.) the manufactured goods will weigh more than the raw material. You will see that, in the proposal sent from hence some months ago for countervailing duties, the quantity of silk was considered in each species of the manufacture: the principle adopted in those Tables appears to be the only correct one to act upon, but I have never heard whether they were approved of or not. Some silk goods are made, I understand, of *raw*, and some of *thrown;* but the whole, in your Tables, is calculated on the latter, which is higher than in the former by nearly three to one, I believe. No provision is made for mixed goods (such as your poplins, &c.) as in the Tables sent from hence. Some alteration will be necessary in the case of Sugar, which you will see by referring to our suggestions respecting

that article where the different sorts of the refined are distinguished.

With respect to the Excise duties, it will hardly be possible to form a correct opinion without further information: it appears at present doubtful whether, in some instances, at least, they would protect your manufactures. The Irish wine measure differs from the English, but whether the beer gallon is different I do not know; nor am I aware why the duty should be charged upon the barrel of 32 gallons, which is not the English and seems not to be the Irish barrel.

The Sixth Article embraces so great a variety of things as to render it difficult (as it strikes me) to effect a complete and satisfactory arrangement under it without a complete knowledge of the rates of duty which constitute, and of other circumstances which affect, the English, Scotch, and Irish Revenue. Perhaps it might be convenient to send over some persons here perfectly conversant with the latter.

I write this on the first view of the subject; but I hope, in two or three days, to have an opportunity of talking fully with Mr. Pitt upon it, and I will then trouble your Lordship again.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE ROSE.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret and Confidential. Wildernesse, April 11, 1800.

Dear Castlereagh—I so fully meant to have answered the letter received from you on the 7th of March, the day after I received it, that I did not advert to it in the letter I actually did write to you (*on business*) of that date. I am particularly sorry I have not written, as, from the letter I received from you to-day, I fear you might interpret my silence as conveying some insinuation that I did not acquit you of that construction on your speech, which, God knows, I never entertained, and which none of the newspapers I saw gave any ground to suppose you had or could have said what you tell me has been

represented there. I was so certain that your regard for my character would, above all, have induced you to speak of my conduct as, I trust, it deserves, that I should have conceived the account, if I had seen it, to have been perfectly unauthorized; but, if I could have doubted the care you would have taken of me, I should at least have given you credit for not deserting your own character, and have expected, for your own consistency, that you would show that, under change of circumstances, the principle Lord Cornwallis and I have acted upon has been the same.

After assuring you that I never entertained any other opinion of the line you took than that of its being kind towards me, and judicious in your situation, and informing you that I believe the insinuations, which were communicated to you and to me, came from discontented persons, I will tell you fairly that the situation in which you were placed upon that question was not much less difficult than others out of which you have extricated yourself so honourably.

I am convinced that Lord C. came into Ireland with a bad opinion of all the old advisers of Government, and a determination to estrange himself from them. He also came at a moment when measures of lenity could have been carried into execution with advantage, which induced him to form the hope and to attempt to execute the plan of restoring the country to peace by carrying that system to a greater extent than I am sure you or others of his friends *quite* approved of; and the insinuation thrown out against the Yeomanry, an institution founded by me, could not be otherwise construed by the friends of that institution than as a disapprobation of that conduct they had been suffered to pursue before; and yet the change of system crept so by degrees into his conduct, that I do not think it was possible for you, under the circumstances in which you stood, to represent *seriously* against it; and it was equally difficult for the Ministers here, although they saw and felt that Lord Cornwallis was *not* acting exactly as they

liked, to send him an instruction to change his conduct. The alterations, however, which were made in the Speech at the opening of the Session, originally sent over, must have convinced his Lordship what were our sentiments upon the advantages he held out in his original draft of the lenient measures he had pursued; and the last letter which has been written by the Duke of Portland must evince that it has been the opinion of *all* the King's Servants that measures of severity towards rebels are as necessary as those of conciliation to the loyal; and I am truly happy to hear, although I have not seen the despatch of this day, that Lord Cornwallis's answer to the Duke's letter is precisely what could be wished.

I am quite correct when I tell you that the opinion I mention is that of *all* the King's Servants here. I am equally so when I tell you that it is no less the opinion of *all* who were in habits with me and others their correspondents here. I should be glad, for my own satisfaction, to name the persons *who*, I *know*, entertain this opinion, but it is not fair towards them. I do not, however, think I can put you and your father ill together by saying he is among the number. If, however, this awkwardness has existed, I think there is every prospect of its being done away. If the loyal are protected, they will exert themselves; and if the system of activity is persisted in with the steadiness and the temper which I doubt not it will, I entertain sanguine hopes that the Government will be carried on advantageously to the country and satisfactorily to both sides of the water.

I believe you know the above opinions have been long conceived by me. I do assure you I have not influenced those of others, as Irish questions in which the personal conduct of my successor is implicated are those I never descant upon.

I have read and compared the amended Bill you have sent over to me with the draft made by our Attorney and Solicitor-General, and Mr. Pitt is very well satisfied with it. The letter accompanying that draft will have informed you what were

conceived here to be the legal objections to the original Bill; and as they are done away by the present, it is little worth while to detain you upon the subject. I am sufficiently aware of the impatience of the Irish House of Commons to be convinced of the necessity of not postponing that Bill beyond a certain period, and have to blame our law servants and his Grace, the Secretary of State, for considerable delay.

I am perfectly satisfied and convinced by your reasons upon the two subjects you last wrote to me upon, namely, the thanks to the Speaker, and the not turning out Foster, Wolfe, and Neville. By the Speaker *not* taking any opportunity which has yet presented itself of speaking upon the question of Union, and in answer to Mr. Pitt, I am led to think he does not well know what line to take. He is unwilling to pledge himself irrecoverably. Would it not be a good season to converse with him again on the subject?

Ever yours,

CAMDEN.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke.

Private. Dublin Castle, April 11, 1800.

My dear Cooke—I have just had some of the Woollen people with me. They are, like all the Irish manufacturers, monopolists in principle, and of course say a reduction of duty will ruin them. They admitted that a free export from Great Britain of wool would be an important acquisition, but that they had rather remain as they are than lose the present import duty. On examining this position, I do not think they were able to make it out, for they allowed the difference of price to be nearly 25 per cent., and the expense of freight not to exceed 5 per cent., consequently there would be a reduction of nearly 20 per cent. on the raw material. I asked them whether this would not enable them to meet British woollens in the Irish market better than a duty of from 6 to 8 per cent., which the 6*d.* a-yard amounts to on the cloths

they manufacture. They said they would prefer the duty, but did not assign any very satisfactory reason. I have not had an opportunity of consulting any of those engaged in the finer fabrics: of course, they would be more reluctant to part with the duty, as they derive their raw material from Spain and not from England.

Whatever might be their feeling, if the alternative had been originally proposed, either to remain under the present duties, or to give up the duties and to receive the raw material, I am inclined to think we could not now beat them out of the arrangement as proposed in the article without a hostile investigation, which would delay the measure, and enable the Speaker to make a strong impression, and to say that the boasted superiority of this arrangement over his propositions was at an end.

He would plausibly state that the broad principle upon which the treaty was professed to be founded, namely, a community of raw materials, entitled us to expect British wool; that it was also professed that Great Britain, in consideration of the inferiority of the Irish manufactures, professed to give moderate protecting duties for a time. He would argue that, by our own admission, the woollen trade required it, and would state that, if the duties were taken off, the wool, being a bulky article, even supposing skill equal, would more naturally come in the manufactured than in the raw state, and the result of the whole would be to open our market, and give us nothing that we could, under such circumstances, avail ourselves of in return. This statement would be a little difficult to answer.

Upon the whole, I should hope Mr. Pitt will adhere to the present arrangement, certainly one of entire favour to Ireland. In doing so, he will less expose the great object. It may frighten, but it cannot injure, the British interests; as our whole import, only a proportion of which is composed of British wool, as it consists principally of fine broad cloth, does not exceed £600,000 per annum, a sum of inconsiderable magnitude in a trade of such extent.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Wednesday, three-quarters past five.

My dear Lord—Your Address, Articles, and Accounts, were all presented to both Houses to-day—they were ordered to be printed, and the consideration was fixed for the 17th in the House of Commons, and the 21st in the House of Lords. Nothing was said in the House of Lords. The House of Commons is now breaking up; I infer, therefore, that nothing material has been said there.

I am a little troubled by this application from the woollen interests. One, the ablest and most candid of the deputies, was with me an hour to-day, and comes again, with others, to-morrow. The most moderate and most candid phrase that I got from him was a repeated assertion that the Yorkshire manufacturers would be ruined by the gross and insidious injustice, on the pretext of entire Union, of sending the raw material free, and of keeping, though only till the first period of revision, the duty on the manufacture.

I battled the bugbear (it is only, I verily believe, great nonsense) in vain. Unless we have better success to-morrow, they will petition and be heard by counsel and witnesses.

In confidence—In the course of our discussion, he told me, *très naïvement*, that Mr. Foster had last year put them all on their guard when he was in Yorkshire, by asking what would become of their woollen trade.

I am, &c., AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Ham Common, April 13, [1800.]

My dear Lord—We are passing a few days with the Hobarts,[1] accompanied by a large detachment of our children. I shall resettle in Palace Yard on the 15th, and in the mean time I am not inattentive to your great work, "nil actum

[1] Lord Hobart, married in 1799 to Eleanor Agnes, daughter of Lord Auckland, succeeded to the Earldom of Buckinghamshire in 1804.

reputans" till the whole shall be completed. It certainly will have strong claims to be called *your* work. I never found time till this morning to afford an attentive and connected perusal to your speech, which gives every requisite explanation with clearness, force, and eloquence. I trust that, at the opening of the new century, you will transfer your activity to a larger scene of action, and will employ the energy of your mind upon the great interests of our new Empire.

The attack of the woollen people is not very alarming: their advertisement is a foolish and untenable objection to the circulation of raw materials and produce through different parts of the same kingdom. If they had confined their claim to a more speedy abolition of the duties subsisting on woollens, they might have embarrassed us more.

I foresee great trouble and delay in the settlement of the countervailing duties, and have just epistolized Mr. Pitt respecting them. When we talk of allowing each country to settle its own Countervailing Duties, we do not seem to be sufficiently aware that those duties hinge upon a principle of jealousy. If the quantum on any article be stated by us higher than it ought to be, it will operate *pro tanto* as a prohibition on your imports, and also as a bounty on our exports, and so *vice versâ* as to the Countervailing duties which may be settled by you. It is a task of great difficulty in some of the articles, even with all possible disposition to conciliation and good faith. We must go doggedly to work upon it: for surely these duties must appear in the Act of Union; at least, I fear that they cannot well be left to be settled afterwards by Commissioners. It will be contended by the Opposition to the general measure that Ireland is dragooned and bayonetted into it. We shall also have much teazing on the Representation article and its preparatory machinery.

I have received a note from Lord Darnley,[1] to say that he

[1] John, fourth Earl: his Lordship claimed in 1829 the Dukedom of Lennox, being descended from Catherine, sister of the sixth Duke.

approves every part of the measure, except the anomalous predicament of the Irish Peers, and the limited prerogative of the Crown, which ought to have been either totally restrained or quite free. I have known him less correct in his opinions than he is in this instance.

Mr. Pitt scolds me when I mention the word delay, and therefore, I retain a tacit sentiment respecting the course of our progress. I suspect that the new Income Bill which the Treasury have brought in will occasion much ill temper and debate: but I say this merely from the perusal of it, as I have not had occasion to see others since it was printed.

You see that Buonaparte is making incredible efforts to open the campaign with some impression of success, and that he is collecting around him and his Government every individual, of whatever party, who possesses the best abilities.

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Palace Yard, April 17, [1800.]

My dear Lord—I shall omit many particulars which you will learn by this post from Cooke. I returned to town yesterday, and dined alone with Mr. Pitt, and sat with him till 11 o'clock, discussing your Articles, and the course of proceeding to be adopted. We appointed Cooke, with Messrs. Frewin and Jackson, to meet us this morning, and had three hours' conference with them on the old and eternal story. But Mr. Pitt finds himself so much indisposed, that he cannot risk the possible fatigue of a long debate, and must have recourse to a little medical discipline. He has, therefore, postponed the Irish business till Monday next. His disorder is merely of that bilious kind which often affects him, and which a little attention removes. I am sorry for the apparent delay, though I hope that, in the result, we shall advance as fast as if this interruption had not taken place: for the Countervailing

Duties are preparing, and all the other details are putting into shape.

It is possible that unforeseen circumstances may arise; but, so far as we can yet see, and after a most careful examination of the Articles, we find no material difficulty. Nor do we think that it will be necessary to make any substantial alteration in the propositions, or indeed to make any change, except what you may strictly argue to be consonant to the meaning of your Parliament, and such as would pass if made in a money Bill sent from the Lords to the Commons. We think that our two Houses here may advance concurrently, (and without communication or messages) as was done in the Scotch Union, only, as on that occasion, the House of Lords must be a few days behind the Commons in the course of the proceeding. The Parliamentary Commission, in the former instance, certainly makes a material difference in the cases: still we may avail ourselves of the precedent. A few days will show more, and will also ascertain whether the woollen opposition is likely to create delay: the various petitions, of which we have as yet any account, do not desire to be heard by counsel.

Mr. Pitt is very solicitous that you should have the further details completed as soon as you may think it prudent to meet the Irish Parliament again respecting them—I mean, as to your Countervailing duties, without which, till settled by you, and adopted by us, and also as to our Countervailing duties, *vice versâ*, we cannot come to a conclusion respecting the Articles; and farther as to your Representation Act, without which we cannot propose the Act of Union. In all these matters and considerations, I recur to my original opinion that the arrangement is farther from its close than we all wish, and than some of us expect.

I stated a doubt to-day, which may force us on both sides to an additional article in the 10 per cent. Schedule. Woollens, silks, and cottons, are all subject to a protecting duty, as separate manufactures. I fear that the mixed manufactures

having those materials must also be subject to a protecting duty: if not, I foresee much alarm and objection, and indeed an apparent inconsistency in the whole system. How can it be said that the cottons shall be specially guarded, but that, if a little silk be mixed with these, they shall go quite free—or that apparel shall pay 10 per cent. if made up, and nothing if not made up? It is difficult to foresee the general course of the business till after the first debate on it in our House of Commons. Believe me to be, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

The Right Hon. J. Beresford to Lord Castlereagh.

Derry, April 18, 1800.

My dear Lord—Your first letter, dated the 10th, I did not receive until the 15th, owing to its being directed to Newtown Limavady, which never arrives regularly, nor ever will, until it comes by Derry instead of Coleraine.

You ask me what do I think would be the effect of taking off all duties on Woollens between the two countries. My opinion is, that it would be very advantageous to Ireland; for our Wool, I have always understood, is long and coarse, fit for combing, and used in coarse Woollens and New Drapery, the price of which is very low, and on which 7½*d.* and 2¼*d.* are prohibitory Duties. I think our best chance of Export is on New Drapery, perhaps to the value of 20*d.* a yard, on which 2¼*d.* will act as a bar to Export.

Your letter of Wednesday arrived here at two yesterday, and I received it in the Jury Room, where I have the honour of presiding. All things seem quiet: this whole city and county, except about twelve gentlemen, are strong Unionists; so we shall have no stir.

I am very happy that it occurred to me to give in a Schedule of the articles to be countervailed and not the Duties, foreseeing that there might be difference of opinion: we have now avoided a great hobble. I conceive that a discussion in

Parliament upon the quantum of countervailing Duty would be attended with great difference of opinion and delay, and that the Speaker would be able to give us much trouble on that point. I am, therefore, inclined to think that those Duties would be best settled by Commissioners.

Now to advert to Rose's letter—but, first, I must premise that the Duties stated were submitted for consideration, and not as the positive Duties. We kept the Duties out of the Schedule for the very purpose of consideration.

The first article Mr. Rose mentions is Silk: he says the arrangement would operate as a complete prohibition of the article, for the reasons contained in his letter, and he mentions some Table sent over some months ago, containing the Duties on the several species of manufactured Silks. I never saw or heard of such Table. I took a copy of the Memoir of Messrs. Frewin and Jackson upon the Countervailing Duties, and, as you had no copy, I gave one to Cooke. In this paper these gentlemen were totally silent on the Duties which ought to be laid on Silk: they mention the articles, and leave a blank for the countervailing Duties. We therefore took up a general principle, upon an inquiry what quantity of thrown Silk was used in manufacturing a lb of Silk, and that was stated as a principle to direct. I can have no doubt that we may be mistaken, but we had no ground to go on but inquiry, and it was impossible to go into the Duties of each particular species of Silks, neither is it worth while.

It would answer no purpose to go into argument on this article at this time; but it is not of the mighty consequence which seems to be conceived, as may be seen by the statement of the importation of raw and manufactured Silk made by me in my speech.

Mr. Rose says, there is no provision made for mixed goods, such as poplins, &c., as in the Tables sent from England. We considered these goods as Irish Exports, and conceived the Countervailing Duties would be laid on in Britain, and what

was so laid on there would be the Duties here. The Tables he alludes to I have never seen.

The Sugar Duties are laid generally in our Schedule on the principle of two hundred of Raw Sugar being the quantity necessary to make one hundred of refined. It is true that, in Messrs. Frewin and Jackson's Tables, they state the various species of refined Sugar; the coarser Sugar takes somewhat less than double the quantity of Raw; the very finest takes somewhat more than double: we avoided going into the distinctions, and took a general average upon the same principle on which the present Import Duties on Refined Sugar are imposed, and that because the present duty is a Countervailing Duty.

As to the Excise Duties, they are, I believe, the very identical existing Duties on our own articles, except Beer, which, not having a direct Excise on it, we are obliged to compute upon the Excise put upon the materials of which it is composed, viz. Malt and Hops: we have taken as our foundation the quantities of these materials which Messrs. Frewin and Jackson state to be used in Great Britain, and we have charged the amount of the Excise paid on that quantity.

Rose seems surprised at our charging the Duty on a barrel of 32 gallons, which he seems to think is neither the English nor the Irish barrel. In this he is mistaken; 32 gallons is the legal barrel on which all our Inland Excise Duty has been always paid, and on which our Import Duty is laid. The brewers' barrel, by which they sell, differs from this, and is 40 gallons: we struck the countervailing Duty on 40 gallons at 5*s.* 7½*d.*, which is, on 32, 4*s.* 6*d.*

I shall only add that, in a great system of the nature of Union, it is impossible to imagine that we can be minutely right, nor is it necessary: these Duties are to continue but for a certain time, and the consequence of a small deviation from exact equality cannot be of any material injury to either country.

Yours ever sincerely,

J. BERESFORD.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Palace Yard, April 21, 1800.

My dear Lord—Mr. Pitt intends to-day to open the whole view of the arrangement. He will take the ground of the new propositions brought forward in your Parliament, in consequence of the resolutions of the British Parliament; and I hope that he will be able to give a right impression both of the Woollen and Cotton businesses, and also to satisfy the doubts of some of our well-meaning sceptics on the constitutional points. He thinks it necessary to insert a provision in the Parliamentary Article, "that, until the United Parliament shall have made a Place Bill, there shall not be a greater number than twenty places during pleasure [held] by persons in the new Parliament beyond what there are at present." We hope that this number will be found no inconvenient restraint to you, and the proviso certainly cannot occasion any material debate with you. I am not aware of any other substantial alteration or addition. I conceive that we must put the 10 per cent. on mixed manufactures of Woollen and Silk, and Cotton and Silk, not as a protection to our manufacturers, but from a necessary regard to the high duties. I shall be able, probably in the course of another day, to form some tolerable estimate as to the progress that we may make. Lord Grenville will move the first four resolutions with us, and will make an opening speech on them, and will afterwards wait three or four days for the next Resolution to be settled in the Commons.

I am confident that we shall get on well, though perhaps not without delays. Believe me, &c.

AUCKLAND.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Queen Street, April 21, 9 P.M.

My dear Lord—I have left Cooke in the House, and have promised him a messenger ready to take his letter to go by

the express the moment it breaks up. I stayed no longer than to hear Mr. Pitt open the Articles in a most masterly manner, and in a speech of not above an hour and a half, I think. The House may sit till late: you will have the particulars from Cooke, and I will take care to send the papers.

I merely write to apprize you, in case Cooke should not remark it, that, in making the return required by the motion of Grey, relative to the offices tenable by the Irish members, Mr. Pitt observed that the time would only allow of a negative return, by stating the offices which the members were disqualified from taking; that to name all the rest, without the exception of any, would be a business of time and research. I only mention this as a hint with respect to the nature of the return to be made.

I do not think that much difficulty will arise here from the clothiers. The ground Mr. Pitt took covers, I presume, whatever of objection might be founded on that partial circumstance.

There is one point on which I must refer you to a former letter, and upon which, even for the sake of security, Lord Grenville seems still to be anxious—I mean, the question of the Peers voting in the first instance by proxy. Lord Grenville's idea is, that this privilege should not be extended beyond the principle at present laid down in the Bill, namely, to be exercised by those Peers who shall have qualified as required, and, further, that it need not be exercised at all in the occasional vacancies in the Peerage to be elected on the part of Ireland in future. The result, therefore, is, that the principle is judged necessary, so far as it is necessary in point of security.

I remain, &c.,

J. KING.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis.

London, April 22, 1800.

My Lord—This day the Committee went through the Contribution Resolution. The Committee was thin. Dr. Law-

rence made some objections as to the criterions, and stated that British members would vote the Irish taxes, in which they were not concerned, and Irish members British taxes, in which they were not concerned; and he proposed an amendment to that principle, which was not accepted. Banks objected to the Union, because the Catholic point was not settled by it. Mr. Jenkinson[1] answered him cautiously, and merely stated, that a Union alone could place that subject in such a state as to make its decision consistent with security. The Committee rose at 7, and does not sit again till Thursday.

There has some doubt been stated in the Church article as to the word "Convocation." It arose since I saw Mr. Pitt this morning.

Mr. Pitt will move, as an addition to the Representative article, that no more than twenty members shall hold offices during pleasure of the one hundred members who are to serve on the part of Ireland, until the United Parliament shall pass a law on the subject. He could not avoid it, and there seems no objection, for I think the number will not amount to sixteen. I understand Mr. Grey's motion is to apply to the English part of the Representation. Pitt hopes to have everything passed by the 5th. I am sure, if there was as little opposition in Ireland, Lord Castlereagh would not let the measure hang longer.

I have seen General Knox. He gives a good account of France—that the ardour for peace is general; that there is no public spirit; that the idea of one and indivisible is gone; that the claim of the independence of the Netherlands, or their restoration to Austria, would be no bar to peace. He thinks, however, that Buonaparte may make a push to prevent a Union.

I am trying to get the necessary bills settled. It is not my fault, for I have drawn them long since; but they lay in red

[1] Afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool.

boxes, and there is such a number of red boxes that not half of them are opened.

E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis.

London, April 22, 1800, half-past 12, A.M.

My Lord—The House of Commons is just up. Mr. Pitt, as soon as the House was in Committee, made a fine and prudent speech. Mr. Grey took the line of the Opposition in Ireland, that a Union against the sense of the people of Ireland was tyranny; that the sense of the people, and even the real sense of Parliament, was against it; and he moved that the Chairman should leave the chair, in order to address the King, to have the Irish petitions laid before the House, or to have the Parliament dissolved. He said he was not against Union, if the people of Ireland were for it, and he was not against the terms. Grey was supported by Tierney and Sheridan, who both went in the same line—Sheridan most adverse.

Grey tried to drive Mr. Pitt to a declaration on the Catholic subject, by arguing that a Union could do nothing but by the measures which should result from it. Mr. Pitt avoided it. Mr. Dundas was not quite so cautious: in talking of the Union with Scotland, he said, that the Union led the way to the repeal of the heritable jurisdictions, which the Parliament of Scotland would never have done; and so the Union with Ireland would enable the Parliament to do those things for Ireland, which the Irish Parliament could not do itself.

General Loftus and Lord Carysfort were useful in stating for it, and denying some broad and false assertions of Grey, Tierney, and Sheridan. I think Grey's speech was well calculated for the Irish meridian. The Committee divided: against leaving the chair, 236; for, 30. They then passed the first three propositions.

In the Lords, the first three resolutions were also carried.

Lord Holland opposed. The House divided on a question of Lord Holland's, 82 to 3—Lord Holland, Lord Derby, and Lord King. I think the debate was carried on very properly by Government: nothing was dropped which could be made a bad use of.

To-morrow the Contribution Resolution. I hope the Woollen people will not delay the Committee long, but I hear they are violent. Mr. Grey means to move on Thursday an instruction to the Committee respecting the influence of the Crown on the 100 members. I cannot think, from the line of debate taken to-day, that there can be much delay.

I am, &c.,

E. COOKE.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh.

Londonderry, April 26, 1800.

My Lord—When I last had the honour of writing to your Lordship, I indulged the hope that the declaration you had the goodness to make, "that the rights and privileges of Dissenters would stand secured beyond hazard by the Treaty of Union," would have given complete satisfaction. My duty to your Lordship, as well as what I owe the body with which I am connected, obliges me to crave your attention to occurrences which have since taken place.

The connection of Irish Presbyterians with Government divides itself into two heads—security for their religious and civil privileges, and a support for their ministers. Under the first, I have found your Lordship's assurance to give very general content. In a few ministers, there appeared a strong desire for assembling the Synod's fixed Committee, which your Lordship knows is similar in its institution and power to the high Commission of the Church of Scotland. I was applied to for this purpose by a very respectable and deserving man, who, during the late contest, distinguished himself as a friend to the State. He is also my personal friend, and one with

whom it was particularly painful for me to differ. I however resisted the call, believing that it might prove embarrassing to Government, and give occasion to the enemies of the Union for exciting distrust and irritation.

The gentleman to whom I allude made a second attempt in another quarter, where he was also unsuccessful; and the Committee does not meet. The agitation, nevertheless, is considerable; and, reluctant as I am to give trouble to your Lordship, or to occupy unnecessarily a moment of your time, I should feel much to blame were I not to apprise your Lordship of those matters which have come to my knowledge.

It is urged, that by the Union the Church of Ireland will acquire additional strength, while the weight and influence of the Presbyterian body will be proportionably weakened; that, if some measure be not adopted to secure irrevocably the privileges of the Dissenters, there will be hazard of their being invaded by the Imperial Parliament, the majority of which are unacquainted with the peculiar situation of Irish Presbyterians, with their history, and the encouragement under which they originally settled in Ulster; that, in one of the resolutions voted as the basis of Union, there is an express provision for such a change in the laws and in the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in either Kingdom, as circumstances may show the Imperial Parliament to be expedient; and it is feared that the English members might hereafter avail themselves hereof, to enact regulations to the injury and inconvenience of Irish Non-conformists. To these *possible* evils is added an existing grievance of a degrading kind, the incapability of a Dissenter to teach school without permission of the Diocesan, which permission may be withheld at pleasure without appeal and without redress. To these points I earnestly entreat your Lordship's attention previous to the meeting of Parliament. They certainly are of moment; and satisfaction on them could not fail to produce a good effect in Ulster.

If I might venture to suggest anything, I would say, that a

few words to the following purport, in that part of the Bill which will recite the resolution alluded to, would quiet every apprehension: "Provided always that the privileges to which Protestant Dissenters shall, at the time such Union shall take place, be by law entitled, shall in no wise suffer diminution or infringement." This indeed would not reach the grievance complained of by Dissenting Schoolmasters, but that might be done away, by a regulation either of the Irish Parliament or the Imperial one for the education of Dissenting Ministers in Ireland, which, I trust, is in the contemplation of Government.

Under the second head of connection—a provision for the better support of the Dissenting Clergy—it would be wrong to conceal that considerable uneasiness prevails: no promise on the part of Government is, or indeed could be, claimed; but the mode in which that subject was first laid before the public, with the discussion it has since undergone, naturally excited expectations, that an arrangement for the purpose would accompany the Act of Union. The intimation that this measure may be referred to the United Parliament has excited apprehensions that it never will take place.

It is alleged that the majority of the English members regard Dissenters in general with unkind feelings, and will not be persuaded to concur in bestowing favours on the Presbyterian Clergy of Ireland, which might open a door for demands of a similar kind on behalf of English Non-conformists. These are the suggestions of loyal and well-affected men. I will not repeat the invidious and taunting remarks of those of a different description.

It would be idle in me to dwell upon the advantages likely to result from attaching firmly the great body of the Presbyterian Clergy to the State, and enabling them, by a comparative independence, to resist the *civium ardor prava jubentium*. It is alike unnecessary to point out the expediency of some new arrangement whereby the bounty of the State would be

better guarded against abuse. These are subjects on which your Lordship requires no information. For myself, I confide entirely on the discretion of Government respecting the proper time and place for introducing the question. There may be the most substantial reasons for deferring it; but, in that case, I submit it to your Lordship whether, under all the circumstances, it would not be wise and salutary to tranquillize the minds of those concerned, by some assurance that the British Cabinet will be able to prevail on the British members of the United Parliament to accede to a plan for the benefit and support of the Presbyterian Clergy of Ireland.

I have thus candidly stated to your Lordship the public feeling among Presbyterians on these two important points, and I freely confess that, if some measures similar to those I have ventured to mention be not adopted, the discontent will be very great, and the friends of Government will be placed in a difficult situation at the meeting of the Synod in June. It would be presumptuous in me to speak of anything personal respecting myself, and therefore I avoid it.

I have thought it might be satisfactory to your Lordship to see the private sentiments of Ministers on the foregoing subjects; and out of the numerous letters I have received, I enclose four, written by men of unquestionable loyalty and of great usefulness in their respective neighbourhoods. Your Lordship will observe a sameness in them, though they were written nearly on the same day, and, as will appear by the dates, at very different parts of the province. The gentlemen had no thoughts of their letters meeting your Lordship's eye, but I know them well, and can take such a liberty, and I trust there is no breach of propriety in doing so. When your Lordship has leisure to look over them, you will have the goodness to return them.

Permit me now to say, that, anxious as I may appear to feel on the subject, I am still more anxious for the success of the Union itself. The new ground of opposition by petitions

to the Throne, I trust, will prove as unsuccessful as any of the former. I shall mention one laughable instance of the ingenuity of the Anti-Unionists in this neighbourhood. The Catholics are told that, by it, "they will all be made Englishmen, and be obliged to go to Church." In Doctor M'Nevin's famous peninsula of Donegal (Ennishowen), the poor people are actually in terror of this metamorphosis, which would certainly be as extraordinary as any of Ovid's.

I will add another instance of the address of the party, of which I have a perfect knowledge. When the petition from Tyrone to Parliament was in the hands of the manufacturers, the Linen Inspector for the county applied to the drapers in the market towns for lists of the weavers from whom they had purchased webs; and, on being asked by a friend of mine for what purpose, bluntly answered, "To make up the list of subscribers to the Anti-Union petition."

I have now to entreat your Lordship's indulgence for this long letter, and beg you will believe me to be, &c.,

ROBERT BLACK.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis.

London, April 28, 1800, quarter-past nine, p.m.

My Lord—The House of Lords have passed this evening the fourth article in Committee. Lord Mulgrave[1] made a long speech against the allowing Irish Peers to be English Commoners, and moved an amendment accordingly. It was negatived, 52 to 9. Lord Caernarvon[2] moved, after a bitter speech, that the Crown, after the Union, should not retain the power of creating Irish Peers. This was negatived, 50 to 7. Lord Fitzwilliam[3] divided in the minority. Nothing of consequence passed. On the last division, Lord Darnley, who tried to

[1] Henry, third Baron, afterwards created Viscount Normanby and Earl of Mulgrave.

[2] Henry Herbert, Baron Porchester, created Earl of Carnarvon 1793.

[3] William, fourth Earl. He had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795.

make a speech, but failed, went behind the Chair. He meant to have spoken strongly in favour of Union, but to object to parts of the Representation clause.

The House of Commons received some formidable Petitions on the woollen subject, heard counsel, and is now examining witnesses, and it is uncertain whether the case will be finished to-night.

I am to be with Mr. Pitt to-morrow, upon the subject of the Countervailing Duties.

The Duke of Portland has desired me to state to your Excellency, that the brigade of Guards shall be sent, and *whatever troops* you may require.

I enclose a Gazette Extraordinary, and the Duke of Portland stated to me, that the letters from Lord Minto and Mr. Wickham are very satisfactory. They speak of the language of the Cabinet of Vienna being more warm and cordial than at any former period, and they are highly satisfied with the position of the armies.

When the French were evacuating Vado, a fleet was in sight, supposed to be ours, and it was hoped that the French transports would be intercepted.

I believe the readiness to send your Lordship troops arises from the Mediterranean expedition being dropped.

I forgot to mention that Lord Holland gave notice to-day, that he would, on Wednesday, move for admitting Catholic Peers to vote and sit in the Lords.

E. COOKE.

I have received all Colonel Littlehales' letters, whose intelligence, as to the success of the Assizes, has given great satisfaction.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

General Post Office, April 28, 1800.

My dear Lord—I write at a Board to say that, during the last four or five days, Mr. Pitt sacrificed several hours in each

day to the adjusting the Countervailing Duties, and we sent them last night to the press, and hope to expedite a copy to you to-day. We hope that the principles adopted are sound, that the calculations are accurate, and that there can be no objection to arise thereon from either side of the Channel. As, however, it is so very complicated a transaction, and so essential both to manufacturers and to finance, and indeed to commerce also, we have determined to proceed only to complete the articles which you have sent to us, in the hope of returning them to you on Monday next, at the latest; and to take up the Countervailing Schedule, three or four days afterwards, hoping, in the mean time, to hear from you.

I do not write separately, to-day, to Mr. Beresford, being a good deal pressed for time, but I hope that you will summon him and Mr. Corry to a consideration of this countervailing bore. It is clearly best to complete it, if possible; and I really believe that what we sent to you will stand the test of a strict examination—still I say this with diffidence. It is so essential a part of the arrangement, you could not, I fear, leave it to Commissioners: it must have a legislative sanction before the Union can be considered as completed.

To-day, in the Lords, we shall go through the fourth article; and, in the Commons, Mr. Pitt hopes to satisfy our woollen assailants, or, at least, to parry their attack, and to proceed to-morrow.

Believe me, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

The opening of the campaign in Italy promises well.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

House of Lords, May 1, 1800, half-past three, p.m.

My dear Lord—Here we are since one o'clock, hearing counsel and witness against the exportation of woollen. We hope to finish the examination, and to vote to-morrow the Church article; and we shall adjourn to Monday, to give time

for the woollen examinations to be printed. On Monday, we hope to go through the Commercial article, and on Tuesday to receive the report from the Commons, and to move thereon the joint Address, and to carry that Address to the King, on the Wednesday, or Thursday, at latest; and, Wednesday being the 8th, I feel tolerably accurate in the result, as to what I originally stated to you respecting our probable progress.

I enclose the Church article, in which there are many small alterations; but they are merely in style, and to obviate the inaccuracy of that part of the article, which supposed only one Convocation to exist in this country. Nothing passed in our yesterday's debate that ought to do mischief on your side of the water: and what was said by Lord Lansdowne tended, in its impression, rather to do good than harm.

Upon the whole, we seem to go forwards famously; and I hope that we have inserted nothing that can create difficulty with you. It seems to be within a reasonable speculation that we may arrive at the completion of the Act of Union before the 4th of June.

It is desirable to see what degree of credit should be given to the French accounts of pretended advantages in Italy; but there is nothing in those accounts to preclude the possibility of Massena being cut off.

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Fifth Article of the Union.

That it be the fifth article of Union, that the Churches of that part of Great Britain called England and of Ireland shall be one Church, and that, whenever his Majesty shall summon a Convocation of the Clergy, the Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Clergy of the several provinces in England and Ireland shall be respectively summoned to and sit in the respective Convocations of the several provinces of the United Church, in like manner and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established with respect to the Convoca-

tions of the Church of England; and that the doctrines, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be preserved as now by law established for the Church of England, and shall be deemed and taken to be a fundamental article of the Union; and that the formal worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved, as now by law and by the Act of Union established for the Church of Scotland.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Friday evening, May 2, 1800.

My dear Lord—We heard a long speech, to-day, on the Woollen business, made by Mr. Plomer and the rest of the Petitioners; after which, Lord Grenville gave notice, that on Monday next he proposed to move the remaining resolutions.

I should mention that the Church article is no longer in the form that I sent to you yesterday, in which form it had been prepared by W. Williams Wynne and Sir William Scott. It has been thought better to omit what relates to Convocations, as being unnecessary and liable to objection; and also to restore the words which state the continuance, &c., as an essential fundamental article.

We had our last meeting on the articles this morning, with Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville to make the corrections for the report; and we agreed, and Mr. Cooke agreed with us, that none of the alterations are of a kind to be considered as materially departing from what you transmitted to us.

There is to be a long debate in the House of Commons, to-day, on reporting the articles, and Mr. Pitt doubts whether he shall be able to get through the whole to-night. Opposition seem to be seeking delays, and expect more opposition from the Woollen counties. I have not, however, any doubt that we shall complete our task on Wednesday or Thursday next; but I always think it possible that the Countervailing Schedule may give us some trouble.

We have accounts to-day, that Admiral Duckworth has taken. and carried into Gibraltar, two frigates and nine rich ships, bound from Cadiz to Lima, and valued at £600,000.

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rose.

Private. Dublin Castle, May 3, 1800.

My dear Sir—I am sorry Mr. Beresford's absence from town should occasion any delay in your receiving from hence such observations as occur to us on the schedule of Protecting Duties, as transmitted by Mr. Cooke. I have forwarded the printed papers, &c., to Mr. Beresford, and have no doubt that he will be prepared, on his arrival in town, to enable me to reply to the despatch I have received. In looking over the subject with Mr. Corry, a doubt has suggested itself, whether the proposal of calculating the future countervailing duties from the drawbacks, as hitherto given on exportation, may not be stated, though well calculated to protect the manufactures of Ireland, as contravening a broad principle upon which the treaty of Union is professed to be founded. Take it on silks. The duty on thrown silk in England is 8*s.* 0$\frac{4}{5}$*d.* per lb.; in Ireland, 4*s.* 2$\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, Irish currency. The countervailing duty proposed in your paper, as calculated from the drawback you now give, is upon the first article 5*s.* 0*d.* The countervailing duty, as proposed by Mr. Beresford in the schedule sent over, as calculated upon the duty actually paid on import, is 5*s.* 7$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* Thus, according to your mode of calculation, the countervailing duty does not much exceed half of the import duty per pound, while ours exceeds the full duty about a fourth.

From Mr. Cooke's letter, it appears that we are to take a proportional duty to that which is to be your countervailing duty, which will reduce our proposed duty from 5*s.* 7$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to about 3*s.* In reasoning upon this arrangement, the first observation of our manufacturer would be, that the counter-

vailing duty was not equal to the duty he paid on the material: to this may be answered, that the duty retained in England is more than an equivalent, and he must in fairness admit that, in point of protection, he is rather a gainer; but then it may be stated that the principle laid down in the treaty is, that neither country shall levy any duty on the consumption of the other; and that, by the Sixth Article, manufacture, as well as produce, is to be exported from each to the other duty free. It will be argued that this principle is most valuable to Ireland, as being more an importing country of articles subject to duty than Great Britain; and that Great Britain ought to account with Ireland for the amount of duty retained. The objection, in point of pecuniary importance, I take to be trifling. As far as the manufacturing interest is concerned, there is nothing that can be complained of; but, as it seems to depart from the strict principle of the Sixth Article, I have thought it right to suggest it for Mr. Pitt's consideration, in order that I may receive his directions as to the explanation to be given.

I conclude the objections to leave the system of countervailing duties to be settled by the United Parliament, upon a joint Report previously made by the Commissioners of Customs and Excise in both countries, have appeared so weighty as to induce the adoption of the present mode. If the Parliaments were not both well disposed to bring the work to a conclusion, much delay and embarrassment is connected with the detailed discussion of these duties; and they seem to afford a plausible ground for desiring to examine witnesses at the Bar. Upon the point of delay, I have little apprehensions; my principal fear is in making the precise duties matter of treaty: notwithstanding the utmost attention, some inaccuracy may happen, and a mistake now made will in such case be irrevocable;—whereas, if, having laid down the broad principle in the Treaty, that a countervailing duty shall be imposed equal to the internal duty, the United Parliament was left to the application

of the principle upon the previous suggestion of the Boards of the respective countries, I cannot conceive that Ireland could feel any greater jealousy of leaving this discretion to the United Parliament than she has shown in respect to the power of altering the proportions of contribution at fixed periods upon a comparison of data even less determinate in themselves: besides, I conceive it would be highly to the advantage of both countries, neither wishing to take advantage of the other, that the rate of duty, if erroneously fixed at first, should, upon the suggestion of either, be revised and corrected.

I can perfectly conceive that, in progress of time, by an alteration in the process of manufacture, the proportions between the material and the manufacture may be essentially changed; in which case, if the original duties are unalterable (only subject to be increased or diminished, as new duties are imposed or old taken off), a permanent inconvenience must be submitted to, until a common system of revenue shall altogether abolish duties between the two countries. So long as countervailing duties are necessary, the grounds of calculation being in themselves fluctuating, and, as well as the arrangement, subject to error, it appears to me that the duties should be liable at all times to revision, and that a sufficient check may be afforded, if any check is necessary, which I much doubt, by a previous reference to the Boards of Customs and Excise in the respective countries—their opinion, of course, not to be binding, in any degree, upon Parliament, but the reference would give security that no change could lightly be made in duties materially affecting their relation to each other, without having its effects upon the interests of both countries reported upon by the persons in each most conversant in such details, and responsible, in some degree, for their opinions.

If this suggestion deserves any attention, I should be glad to hear from you by the return of the express.

Believe me, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Cornwallis.

London, May 5, 1800.

My Lord—This day the Commercial Resolution passed the Committee of the Lords. Lord Fitzwilliam objected strongly to the communication of English wool to Ireland, but did not divide the House.

In the Commons, Mr. Grey moved the amendments he had formerly stated as to the Representation, in order to register them on the Journals. They were negatived without a division. Mr. Tierney then moved that wool should be for a certain period exported to Ireland under a duty, which duty should be gradually reduced, following the principle which Ireland had adopted as to cottons. After a short debate, his amendment was negatived—108 to 19. The Report was then finished, and Mr. Pitt moved an Address to the King.

The Address states that the House had agreed to the Resolutions of the two Houses of the Parliament of Ireland, with certain alterations and additions, and then proceeds in the same form with the Irish Address. It passed with very slight opposition. The Report will be considered in the Lords on Wednesday. I think the whole will be transmitted to your Excellency on Thursday, so as to arrive on Sunday. The alterations do not go to substance.

I hope to set off to-morrow evening or Wednesday morning.

Despatches were received this day from Mr. Wickham; they transmit an *Augsburg Gazette*, which states that, on the 11th of April, Massena made a general attack on the Austrians, in order to regain his communication with France, and that he was completely defeated. The main engagement took place at Carosio, near Genoa. Massena was killed with a musket-ball in the engagement, which lasted eight hours: 9000 French were killed and taken. There was a private letter from Paris with the same account.[1] It was also stated that one of the

[1] It is scarcely necessary to remark that these accounts were erroneous. Massena, after a series of reverses, was obliged to shut himself up in Genoa, and finally to surrender that city and its garrison to the Austrians.

Imperial couriers had been murdered. This account from Wickham is confirmed by advices received at the Admiralty, dated a few days before the day of action, from Lord Keith, which state that Massena was in such a position that he would be obliged to fight under great disadvantage, or retire into Genoa, where he would be starved.

I am, with the most dutiful respects, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Most Private. May 5, 1800.

Dear Lord Castlereagh—Accounts, of which the within contains the result, were received to-day. But I must observe to you that I have since read Wickham's letter, who states that he cannot give these accounts as *official*, as he has them only from private hands, and has not yet heard from head-quarters.

I have left with Mr. Pitt your letter to me, containing two Compensation queries submitted to Mr. Pitt, which he will answer. With respect to the Speaker's, it struck him, I think, that the measure should be the present value for so long as the present Parliament is called, and afterwards the amount of the pensions heretofore granted. But of this you will hear from Cooke. I am, &c.,

J. KING.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

London, May 6, 1800.

My dear Lord—I set out to-morrow morning. As this express will outstrip me, I enclose a copy of the articles, with all the amendments made. As it was found impossible not to make one or two alterations, it was judged prudent to alter everything like inaccuracy of expression. I think there is no alteration of substance, except that which relates to influence: the others correct inaccuracy of expression, or explain what was doubtful.

Mr. Pitt received this morning your Lordship's letter to Mr. Rose on the subject of the countervailing duties. He is clearly of opinion that they must be settled before the Union; and he thinks that your Lordship's objection to the adoption of the present drawbacks as the countervailing duties, where it can be done, is the safest mode, if it secures to Ireland the protection to her manufactures which she at present enjoys; and he therefore does not conceive your Lordship's objections as conclusive. My feeling has been to prevent variation from existing duties as much as possible. It appears to me that the countervailing duties transmitted effect *that* as far as possible, and that, therefore, Ireland will be satisfied with them.

I enclose the draft of the Compensation Bill, which your Lordship may put into the way of being completed. Upon your queries, Mr. Pitt wishes the liberal line to be adopted. He thinks the Speaker should have his salary to the conclusion of the present Parliament, and then as large an allowance as his predecessor.

I enclose an official letter from the Duke of Portland on the Union and Parliament Bill.

I do not come quite empty-handed.

The Duke of Portland desires me to say that 6000 troops are moving towards Ireland; but I know not the day they will set out.—No further news.

Ever your Lordship's, &c.,

E. COOKE.

The Right Hon. J. Beresford to Lord Castlereagh.

Four o'clock, May 7, 1800.

My dear Lord—In writing my letter to Lord Auckland, I have had occasion to consider the subject of countervailing duties more accurately, and the result is, that I conceive the principle that Mr. Pitt has adopted, viz., the adhering to the quantum of drawback, is an arrangement that would be advan-

tageous to Ireland, because all our drawbacks are calculated to answer, as nearly as we could, the actual duty paid upon import, whereas the English drawbacks are, as you see, short of the import duties in many instances, so that we should export cheap and import dear. It is true that part of that duty which would cause us to import dear would be what was retained in England; that is an objection, but, considered as to manufactures and protection, it would be highly advantageous, and, as to revenue, there would be no loss of moment, and particularly as the amount would go to Imperial Revenue.

I see what Cooke means in saying that silk is in our favour; for, by calculating by the Rule of Three, 8*s.* 8*d.*, 5*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.* 2¾*d.*, 2*s.* 7¾*d.*, to which he thinks is to be added 10 per cent.; but the fact is, that the 10 per cent. is included in the 4*s.* 2¾*d.*, and, I apprehend, is not in the 8*s.* 8*d.*

I shall postpone writing to Lord Auckland until to-morrow, as my mind is undecided.

I am, my dear Lord, &c.,

J. BERESFORD.

On the Duties upon Silks.

Present Duty.

	s.	*d.*
Ribands of silk per lb., 12*s.* 8¼*d.*, valued at £3, duty at 10 per cent.	6	0
Proposed duty, per lb.	2	7½
	8	7½

Decrease from the present duty per lb., 4*s.* 0¾*d.*

But, if thus calculated:

Duty 12*s.* 8¼*d.*, proposed duty.....	2	7½
Drawback less than the duty paid in England	3	3
Duty, at 10 per cent.....	6	0
	11	10½

Then the decrease from the present duty will be 9¾*d.*

Stuffs of silk, per lb. ..... 9*s.* 7*d.*

Proposed duty	2	7½
Valued at £2 15*s.* 5*d.*	5	6½
Duty	8	2

Decrease from the present duty, 1*s.* 5*d.*

But if thus calculated:

Duty, 9*s.* 7*d.*, proposed duty	2	7½
Valued at £2 15*s.* 5*d.*	5	6½
Drawback less than duty paid	3	3
	11	5

Then there will be an increase in the duty of 1*s.* 10*d.*

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rose.

Private. Dublin Castle, May 8, 1800.

My dear Sir—On Mr. Beresford's return to town, I communicated to him Mr. Cooke's letter relative to countervailing duties, also mine to you, forwarded by express. We have since gone over together your proposed system of duties, on which Mr. Beresford is preparing detailed observations, with a view of showing the impossibility, or, at least, the very great difficulty, of coming to any correct settlement without a more precise investigation of the subject, than is practicable by correspondence within the period which can be spared, without exposing the measure by delay. His opinion has always been in favour of leaving the specification of the duties to the United Parliament, and the rather, as he conceives that the Irish system in charging the duty in point of calculation must undergo considerable alterations, which appears to him a strong objection to making the schedule of protecting duties a part of the treaty. He inclines to think that the proposal of taking a duty on the import here of the manufactured article less than the duty actually paid on the raw material would be liable to the objections stated in my former letter, and that it would be strongly insisted on that what England does not give in drawback to the exporter, ought to be placed to the credit of the revenue.

Upon the whole, he wishes that the duties should stand as at present between the two countries for three months after the Union, till the United Parliament shall enact the proper duties to be payable under the principles laid down in the treaty. In the mean time, our respective systems of laying on the duty might be more nearly approximated; and, when the measure came to be considered in the United Parliament, the arrangement would be discussed on its merits, and not with any collateral views of creating jealousy. The only inconvenience that can be stated is, that the operation of the commercial part of the treaty will be delayed for three months; the giving the power to the United Parliament cannot be disputed, as it must be within its competence, in case an article shall hereafter be brought under an excise in either country, which is now exempt from duty, to settle the proper quantum of countervailing duty.

As Mr. Beresford will write probably to-morrow either to you or Lord Auckland, I shall not add more at present.

Believe me, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Dr. Black to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Londonderry, May 8, 1800.

My Lord—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter, and feel increased gratitude for your persevering kindness. As I shall avail myself of the permission of conferring with your Lordship previous to the meeting of the Synod, I will now only say that I will continue to impress on my friends the confidence in Government that I entirely feel myself, and, I doubt not, with effect. I am much concerned that so very respectable a man as Dr. Bruce should have taken up this business in the way he has done: he seems still unsatisfied, for, in his letter of the 28th of April, he regrets that the committee did not meet, and thinks it "neither the usage nor the interest of the Dissenters to rely on anything he has yet heard." Whether I have been *credulous* or he *unbelieving*,

time will show: for the present, he has subjected me to some trouble and much responsibility. For the event I have no apprehension. I have a more intimate knowledge of the Dissenting body than circumstances permitted the doctor to have. I know there is a fund of good sense, which will preponderate when fairly appealed to; and I know also that the ministers view Government in the light to which it is so well entitled. It has their respect and confidence.

I remain, &c. ROBERT BLACK.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. King.

Dublin Castle, May 14, 1800.

Dear Sir—I am directed by my Lord-Lieutenant to transmit, for the Duke of Portland's information, the returns which have been laid before Parliament of the Hearth and Window Taxes, with a view of making a selection of the Boroughs hereafter to be represented in the United Parliament.

A special survey has taken place, during the recess, of twenty-seven towns, which form an intermediate class in point of magnitude, and among which it was most necessary to determine with all possible accuracy the question of precedence. I am happy to find that the result of the special survey corresponds so well with the produce of the taxes received in the two preceding years, when the return could not be made with a view to the measure in question, that out of the thirty-one towns to be selected, twenty-nine are supported by both tests, and the change in the remaining two may be accounted for from local circumstances.

You will observe, in the statement of the account, that an allowance of 2*s*. each is made for the houses now exempt by law; the tax, as at present paid, being leviable only on houses of two hearths and upwards, is not an adequate measure of population. It has, therefore, been thought more consonant to the principle of combining wealth with popula-

tion, to charge the exempted houses in the calculation as they formerly paid, thereby obtaining some measure of the relative population of the towns; while the progressive increase of the tax on the houses of several hearths secures that preference which is due to the most considerable in wealth. The Hearth Money Tax affording in itself a sufficiently fair measure of selection, it is proposed to take the thirty-one towns which stand highest in produce in the return of the present year, considering it, in point of accuracy, the most to be relied on. The joint produce of the two former years would substitute Mullingar and Monaghan, to the exclusion of Strabane and Enniskillen. The total produce of the three years would only affect one town, viz. Enniskillen, and substitute Mullingar in its room; and if to the total produce of the Hearth Tax for three years be added the Window Tax for 1800, which goes to fortify the measure of wealth, as falling principally upon houses of a better description, the result is the same as given by the Hearth Tax of the present year, which we propose to rely on.[1]

His excellency trusts that so marked a coincidence in the several modes in which the returns can be viewed will, if it does not altogether satisfy individual wishes, give a general impression of the fairness of the selection, and so far facilitate its adoption. The general result will be to give representation to thirteen close Boroughs, and to eighteen Boroughs more or less popular in their constitution, exclusive of Dublin, Cork, and the university. I have, &c., C.

The Right Hon. G. Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Treasury Chambers, May 19, 1800.

My dear Lord—Your several packets reached me this morning. I immediately gave directions for the accounts to

[1] The Supplement to 1800 contains several instructive Papers relative to the Boroughs of Ireland at this period, and among them the Lists upon which the above observations are founded.

be made out of the enumerated articles consumed in Great Britain, and of the true value of the exports and imports for the periods desired. As soon as they are completed, they shall be sent off by express, and I trust that will not be later than to-morrow morning.

The Countervailing Duties are, I am persuaded, conformable to the principles adopted in the statement of those sent from hence. In framing the latter, the prevailing wish and desire was so to arrange them as to guard as carefully as possible against objections which might be made in Ireland; it being obvious that, in some instances, the interest of the Revenue and of the manufacturers would be a little different, it appeared to be perfectly clear that, even in the case of the two articles alluded to by your Lordship (beer and silk), the gain of this country, by any possible export of them, would be so inconsiderable as not to be worthy of notice: and so lively a consideration for the interests of Ireland having been evinced throughout the whole of the business, Mr. Pitt is extremely anxious that no point of little importance should be started to discredit the measure here, and unnecessarily create difficulties in the completion of it. He earnestly hopes, therefore, that you will not find yourself under necessity of giving way respecting an account being kept to enable the provision made respecting foreign Colony goods being extended to the drawbacks of the internal duties on British produce or manufactures, and for paying to the Irish Exchequer the difference between the drawbacks and the full amount of the internal duties. The amount could, as your Lordship observes, be trifling, and the account would not, I think, be kept with accuracy. I have the honour to be, &c., GEORGE ROSE.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Palace Yard, Wednesday, May 21, 1800.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Many considerations (some of them sufficiently notorious), have much occupied me since I

last wrote to you. I comforted myself for my silence, in the hope that you would give me credit for writing to you at all events, if I had had anything to communicate which you would not learn more accurately from the Duke of Portland's office, and more expeditiously too. At present, I write merely to say a few words on the probable progress of the great work which you have brought with such distinguished ability within sight of its completion.

I understand that you are likely to introduce the Act of Union to-day. I conceive, however, that you cannot go beyond the Committee with it, till your Election Act has received the Royal Assent, and also till you receive our Countervailing Schedule, and also till we shall have returned your Countervailing Schedule.

If your Act and Schedule should arrive on or before Monday next, I think that both the one and the other may be returned to you on the Wednesday, in which case your Act of Union may be completed in the course of the following week. We may then hope to receive it from you about the 16th of June, and our Act will pass before the 25th. We shall have no further communication with you as a separate Parliament, and we may prorogue before the 1st of July.

Our Countervailing Duties are to be voted in the House of Commons on Friday next, and by the Lords on Monday.

The frightful incident of Thursday last has thrown a gloom over us all; and we are not enlivened by the accounts from the Continent, which, though greatly favourable on the whole, exhibit no prospect of the approach of a safe close to the war.

I will write to Cooke in two or three days.

I am, &c., AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Monday, [May 26], 6 P.M.

My dear Lord—I am just come from the House of Lords, where I moved our Countervailing Duties as sent up to us

from the Commons, and an Address to the King, to communicate them to your Parliament. Lord Holland was in the House, but did not make any observation. We sent down the Address to the Commons for concurrence. A Mr. Wilberforce Bird renewed his opposition to the Schedule; delay arose, and we were obliged to separate, because Lord Eldon was engaged to meet the twelve Judges at half-past five, on some Law question. We sit to-morrow at four; and I suppose that the Schedule will be sent off, so as to arrive to you early on Friday; and our agreement to your Countervailing Duties may go at the same time. They were presented today. The Commons, I believe, voted them without printing. We thought it deceitous to print them, though nobody will read the prints, and referred them to a Committee of the whole House, to sit to-morrow. And now I think that we have done, except only that we must wait for your Act of Union, which, I trust, you will pass, and transmit on Friday or Saturday se'nnight.

I have mentioned, in a short letter to Cooke, the only little news that I know. There is something in the course and predicament of the campaign that makes me feel not quite comfortable. Believe me, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, May 29, 1800.

My dear Lord—This express brings the joint Addresses of the two Houses here, one concurring in your, and another communicating our, Countervailing Duties.

Instead of waiting for the final passing of your Union Act (which would include its transmission and return with your Great Seal, the passing of it by the Lord-Lieutenant, and our receiving it so passed), Mr. Pitt thinks he has a salvo to obviate this delay, namely, by going on with the Act here; only enacting therein that, if the Parliament of Ireland shall, before January.

1800, pass such an Act, then ours to be in force from that time; and if, in the progress of our Act, your Act is passed, then to amend our Act, by striking out and enacting that Ireland having passed such an Act, &c. This was an idea Mr. Pitt mentioned to me yesterday. In the mean time, it will be very necessary that he should have a few copies of your Union Bill as soon as it is printed, for I hardly believe we have an exact copy of it, as it now stands, on this side of the water.

We have no further news since our last Gazette, which announces the first check Moreau has received, and a letter from Lord Minto, in which he says that Thugut and the Court of Vienna are by no means disheartened, or fearful of the event.

Kissing of hands yesterday—Mr. Dundas for the Privy Seal of Scotland; Ryder for Treasurer of the Navy; Canning for joint Paymaster; Wallace for Canning's seat at the Board of Control; and Lord Temple for his at the Admiralty.

I remain, &c.,

J. KING.

I have opened this letter again merely to observe, that they have sent me from the Parliament Office two sets of Addresses and ditto of Statements of Countervailing Duties, thinking that copies of them would not do. But that was clearly held otherwise the other day, when we had copies of your Address and Statements before the Houses. The communication is to the *King*, and through him to the Houses, and, in that light, copies are the more correct of the two. However, I send them all, as they will save the time of making copies. Rose has forgot to sign, and he is gone to Hampshire.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

May, 1800.

My Lord—As it is probable that the Bill, which your Lordship did me the honour to tell me was preparing by the Chan-

cellor for the regulation of the College of Maynooth, is what is in most forwardness of all the regulations which your Lordship has in contemplation respecting the Roman Catholic Clergy, I will trouble your Lordship with some observations that have occurred to me on that subject. In a few days I will submit to your Lordship, what I have long reflected on relative to their establishment.

I differ widely from my friend Fox in his condemnation of the *Institution,* although I entirely agree with him in reprobating the introduction of the system of education and the course of theological studies pursued in the foreign seminaries to which he alludes. The policy of the institution is as obvious, as is the necessity of carefully attending to the discipline it adopts and the doctrines it inculcates. The difficulty is, how to reconcile these essential points, and by what means the Government of the country, while it provides for the education of the Roman Catholic Clergy, can interfere in that education without clashing with their religious prejudices, or can obtain such an inspection and control over the heads and teachers of the College, as may effectually prevent the continuance and propagation of those opinions and doctrines which indisputably have been the great instrument, in producing all the distractions of this country since the days of Queen Elizabeth.

In a letter from London, I ventured to submit to your Lordship my ideas respecting the appointment of the Trustees. One of my principal objections to that Board, as at that time constituted, will be done away by the projected Bill of the Chancellor, nor can I see any objection to the admission of some of the principal Roman Catholic Laity, or even of the titular Archbishop of Dublin, to which I understand your Lordship has lately consented. But still I am of opinion that a proportion of the *acting Trustees* also should be Protestants, without whose presence and approbation nothing essentially connected with the discipline, the internal regulations, the re-

venues, or other principal objects appertaining to the establishment should be transacted. At all events, I hope and trust that the *majority* of the visitors will be Protestants, and that the Archbishop of Dublin, as Metropolitan of the province, and the Bishop of Kildare as Diocesan, will be of the number. I should also hope that, to connect the institution in some way with the University of Dublin, the Provost would be a visitor, and some of its Professors or Fellows acting Trustees. I should further hope that the attention of the visitors would not be discretionary, nor their attendance casual and reserved for particular occasions, but that it should be provided that they should attend at fixed regular periods, at which the acting Trustees should be accountable to them for everything into which they should think it expedient to carry their inquiries. The present prejudices of the Popish bishops may repugn at this introduction of Protestant prelates; but, if the Government is firm in requiring it, they will give way; and as these prelates will probably be the most watchful and zealous of the Protestant visitors, they will best answer the purposes for which this mixture of Protestants is designed.

With respect to the course of their theological studies and the doctrines of their school, it happens fortunately that the majority of the Popish Bishops, the present President of the College, and, if I am rightly informed, almost all their Professors and Masters, have been educated in the different seminaries for Irish Clergy in France. In that case, they will have the less objection to submit to some such regulations as prevailed in that kingdom, and most jealously kept the whole system of clerical education under the immediate inspection and control of the civil Government. They will have the less objection to make the immunities of the Gallican Church, and the boundaries which it established between the spiritual and temporal power, and against the encroachments of the See of Rome, the basis of their national Church in Ireland. They will be the less unwilling to submit to the same inspection and

control over the doctrines they teach and the discipline they establish, as the Government of France exercised, or to consent that persons properly authorized shall take care that nothing contrary to the dignity and power of the Crown, or the King's title, or the principles of the Constitution, or the security and permanency of the establishment, shall be taught by their professors.

In France, the professors of morals and divinity composed and committed to writing their course of lectures. These they dictated from day to day to their pupils, who also committed them to writing, and were afterwards occasionally examined out of them. At the end of each course, Acts were publicly held, and what they called Theses maintained by the most distinguished of the students. In every university there were persons peculiarly authorized by the Government to inspect into the doctrines so taught and so maintained, nor could any of these Theses be disputed on in the schools, until they were first signed by the professor of the class, and approved by the public censor. I make no doubt but the professors of the College of Maynooth will observe the same method in delivering their lectures, nor do I believe that they will make any difficulty in submitting to a somewhat similar inspection. Their course of morals and theology ought to be submitted to the examination of persons responsible for the doctrines they teach, and their Theses ought to be signed previous to disputation by the respective professors and the Board of acting Trustees, and then sent in to the Lord-Lieutenant, or the principal Secretary.

As a preliminary security, the Crown should have the exclusive appointment of the President of the College, who might also be appointed Censor as above described, and a negative on the nomination of all other officers and teachers; and, previous to the exercise of any office or function whatever, whether of superintendency, administration, or teaching, an oath should be taken so framed as to take in all the points which it is

necessary to guard against, and which it is needless to enumerate here. But, among them, it will be essential that the principle of inextinguishable opposition and enmity to the Protestant religion, such as it has been inculcated by Hussey, their first President, and of unremitting exertion to encroach upon it and proselyte its followers, should be excluded from their schools; as should also that most dangerous and insufferable part of Hussey's system, in which the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy have so universally combined to act, that of deterring, by menaces of excommunication and immediate exclusion from all the benefits and blessings of the Church, such parents as shall send their children to be educated at a Protestant school. What can be more absurd and inconsistent than that a Protestant Legislature should provide a place of education in which such doctrines should be propagated; that an establishment founded and supported by the State should be a seminary for teachers who should maintain an eternal warfare against the religion of the State! and, is it not obvious that, as long as such a system continues to be supported in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and as the Popish clergy shall continue to act upon it, the great object of blending the two people together must ever be defeated? No part of Popish policy was ever more insidiously planned, or had a more dangerous tendency; and it was evidently taken up by Hussey to prevent the effects which he saw producing by the system of liberality and relaxation, and to build up again the wall of separation which the Legislature had pulled down, by substituting his spiritual code of penal laws to the civil code that had been abolished.

The last regulation which I shall submit to your Lordship's consideration is a very essential one. It is connected with the proposed establishment, which is admirably well considered in one of the papers which your Lordship was so good as to communicate to me.

The great intention of the institution is, to give the Roman

Catholic clergy a home education, and prevent them from being brought up under that system that was originally framed in foreign seminaries, for the purpose of supplying a succession of men who are so necessarily connected with the great body of the people to reside in the very heart of the country, prejudiced against its Constitution, leagued against its Government, and intimately connected with its enemies, and to take care that no civil prejudices, at least, should be engrafted on their religious opinions. It is therefore evident that, to secure the object of the institution, every means should be taken to prevent the Romish clergy of the kingdom from resorting to foreign seminaries for their professional education. I do not see why the Chancellor's Bill, and the Act to be framed on it, should not contain a positive prohibitory clause to this effect, supported by penalties. The prohibition should be strictly confined to clerical education, for the purpose of qualifying themselves for what they call the mission in Ireland. At all events, it should be made an absolute condition, in order to enjoy the honorary provision in contemplation for the Roman Catholic clergy, that they shall have taken a divinity degree, and have obtained a testimony of good conduct and loyalty in the College of Maynooth. For this the Act of Parliament should give them the power of conferring degrees, and there should be a Bachelor of Divinity's degree, to be conferred after a specified course of studies, and the degrees which they distinguish by Licentiate in Divinity, and Doctor in Divinity, or the Doctor's Cap, to be conferred in consequence of the public exercises required for the same degrees in the Sorbonne. I need not observe that they should have no power of conferring any degrees but in divinity.

Without such a regulation as this, of precluding from the benefit of the proposed establishment all who shall not have been graduated in the College of Maynooth, the views of Government in the establishment must be evaded. The favourable dispositions of which Sir John Cox Hippisley so successfully availed himself, with respect to the British institutions

at Rome, may not always last, as is so well stated in the paper to which I have already alluded; and, even if the regulation were to continue, British subjects educated in such institutions, whether in Italy, Spain, or Portugal, where they still abound, may, and most probably will, imbibe all the prejudices of their worst days, and propagate them. A door will therefore be still left open to admit Popish priests of the old description amongst us. They will of course be the most devoted to the See of Rome, and, being its greatest favourites, will have the greatest weight with a people so superstitiously attached to it; and thus you will have a distinction between Government priests and true Catholic priests, from which the worst consequences must flow to the country. ••

Should your Lordship admit the force of this reasoning, and feel the necessity of obviating the evil, you must make provision to the full establishment of 400, which, if I forget not, was what Hussey and the Roman Catholic bishops calculated as the number necessary to keep up the succession of parish priests and their coadjutors. The additional expence ought not to stand in the way, for, without it, all that you now expend on the institution may be, in a great measure, useless.

I would suffer no friaries in the kingdom, no monasteries, of either men or women; nor would I suffer such institutions for the education of their clergy as those at Carlow, Kilkenny, and I believe in almost every diocese over which the Government has no immediate control.

Should the regulation of allowing the honorary stipend only to graduates of the College of Maynooth be adopted, it would be necessary to fix a time for its operation to commence, as the numbers that have been educated, or are now educating in it, must be inadequate to the supply of the parishes.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, Sunday, June 1, 1800.

My Lord—Various occurrences have happened to prevent my returning an answer to the letter which I received from

your Excellency in the course of last month, and which contained a plan delivered to your Excellency by Lord Kilwarden, purporting to be a scheme for forming a general Court of Error in Ireland; and yet, considering the time that has elapsed since that communication was made to me, I fear you may have thought that the subject has not met with the attention which it is entitled to by its importance and by the advantages which, I am persuaded, will be the consequences of its adoption, and which, I am certain, suggested to its noble author the fitness of proposing it.

I find from my Lord Chancellor, whose indisposition has been the principal cause of your Excellency's not hearing from me sooner, upon this subject, that Lord Kilwarden's plan was discussed in several conversations by him and Lord Clare, in the course of Lord Clare's last visit to this country, and that it has the Chancellor's perfect approbation. I therefore hope that it will be brought forward without further delay, and have its share in the happiness which Ireland will derive from this last session of her separate Parliament.

As there is another subject which my Lord Chancellor wished should have formed a part of this scheme, and which appears to have promised advantages of a similar nature and tendency to those which Lord Kilwarden's plan has in contemplation, I conclude, as no notice has been taken of it by your Excellency, that it has either escaped Lord Clare's recollection, or that there are some better reasons than have occurred to us here for its not having found a place in the paper your Excellency has transmitted us; but, from the state of ignorance in which I find myself in that respect, and the opinion I have conceived of the effects of such a provision, I should not satisfy myself if I did not submit the outline of it to you, desiring, at the same time, that it may be expressly understood that its fate depends entirely on your better judgment, for the forming of which you are necessarily in possession of better materials than our situations can furnish us with.

The Chancellor's idea is, and I am enabled to give it you in his own words, that it would be desirable that a limitation of the appeals from Courts of Equity should be added to the scheme in question; and, with this view, his idea was that no appeal should be allowed against any interlocutory order in the suit, nor any appeal against a decretal order for the payment of money or the performance of a duty, such as the delivery of possession, for example, without an actual deposit of the money in the one case, and in the other, either security given, or a receiver appointed, or against any decree for an account without security given in such sum as the Court shall direct to satisfy the sum decreed to be due; and that, even where, upon an account directed, a discovery appears to be necessary, the Chancery should be authorized to suspend the appeal until the party appellant shall have put in a sufficient answer to the charge.

I shall hope to be informed of the purport of your determination upon the subject of the suggestion.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Admiralty, June 1, 1800.

My dear Lord—Will you allow me to beg the favour of your Lordship to forward to Admiral Kingsmill, at Cork, a copy of Sir Thomas Pasley's letter, which will be sent to you from the Duke of Portland's office. The fleet seen by the Hawk on the evening of the 29th must have been the fleet under Lord St. Vincent, which sailed from Torbay on the morning of the 27th.

Believe me to be, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Lord St. Vincent must have had with him thirty-two or thirty-three ships of the line.

Cambridge, Hamoaze, May 30, 1800.

Sir—Captain Bartholomew, of his Majesty's sloop Hawk, is this morning arrived with the intelligence, which I judged it proper to despatch immediately by express for their Lordships' information. I am, &c.,

THOMAS PASLEY.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Hawk, at Sea, May 30, per Log, 1800.

Sir—At 7 P.M., the Isle de Bas S.S.E. per chart seven or eight miles, I discovered a strange fleet standing to the westward, to the number of thirty sail. Supposed them to be the Channel fleet bearing N.N.W. per chart, and could only discover them at the mast-head. I made sail in chase, in order to ascertain what they were; but having only light airs during the night, at daylight I could not see anything of them. At 9 A.M. wore ship in chase of a strange sail, to the westward. She proved to be his Majesty's ship Winchelsea, Captain Hatley, with the enclosed intelligence, to whom I communicated the above. He immediately made sail to the westward; and, should the fleet I saw be ours, I have little doubt but he will fall in with them this evening; and, deeming the above intelligence of importance, I thought it my duty to make you acquainted with it, without loss of time.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

P. BARTHOLOMEW.

Intelligence received per his Majesty's Ship Winchelsea, Captain Hatley.

Thirteen of the French fleet sailed from Brest on Tuesday evening, the 27th inst., and others were expected out the same evening. The Winchelsea was part of a squadron of troop ships, from which she had separated, and was, when I spoke her, looking for the Channel fleet, to make them acquainted with the above.

P. BARTHOLOMEW.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, June 2, 1 P.M., 1800.

My dear Lord—The Duke of Portland's letter of yesterday will have acquainted the Lord-Lieutenant with the particulars of the sailing of the French fleet from Brest, as was then supposed. The Admiralty have received information this morning that the said fleet only got into the outer Road, and that, Lord Bridport having, on the 30th of May, appeared before Brest, time enough to prevent their actually sailing out, they have put back into the inner harbour. The fleet taken for the French fleet was our own.

Ever most truly, &c.,

J. KING.

The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Whitehall, June 12, 1800.

My Lord—I have had the honour to lay before the King your Excellency's despatch, private, of the 3rd of June, with its three enclosures, received on the 7th by the messenger, Hyde, and your despatches of the 9th, one of which contained the reasons of your recommendation of the persons whose names you have submitted to his Majesty as proper to be raised to the dignity of the Peerage, and the other of which was marked separate, both which were brought to me yesterday by the express.

Your Excellency appears to have been well aware of the manner in which his Majesty would naturally receive a proposal for so large an addition to the Peerage, by the statement you have made of the considerations which you hope may dispose his Majesty to assent to such a measure; and I have the satisfaction of acquainting your Excellency that the proceeding has been attended with the happiest effect: for the sense his Majesty is graciously pleased to entertain of the ability with which you have overcome the difficulties you have had to

struggle with, and of the judgment you have displayed in administering the government of his kingdom of Ireland, have given such a weight to your representations in favour of the gentlemen whom you have recommended for this high mark of his Majesty's favour, that I am commanded to signify to you his Majesty's determination to assent to your request. At the same time, I am particularly directed to let you know that his Majesty will very unwillingly consent to the conferring of any of these intended honours till after the election of the Peers has taken place; and he therefore relies upon the exertion of your Excellency's utmost influence, and depends much upon the confidence which your conduct has so justly entitled you to from the candidates for those distinctions, as well as from the country at large, to reconcile them to their being suspended till after the accomplishment of that event, with the exceptions, however, of the promotions of the Viscounts O'Neill and Bandon, for which the necessary letters will be sent to your Excellency as soon as you will signify your wishes for them; as well as for conferring the vacant Ribbon of the Order of Saint Patrick on the Earl of Altamont, which his Majesty very much approves.

The limitation of the titles proposed to be conferred on Mr. Blake and Mr. Sandford would be more conformable to his Majesty's sentiments, and the course of general practice, were they confined to the male heirs of the bodies of those gentlemen respectively; and it is his Majesty's wish that your Excellency should endeavour to reconcile them to retract so much of their expectations as exceeds the general rule; but, if your Excellency has entered into such engagements with them as to render such an attempt inconsistent with the hopes you have encouraged, his Majesty will not ultimately refuse his sanction to your engagement.

His Majesty very much approves your Excellency's intention of deferring the signification of his royal assent to the Union Act till after all the business of the session is com-

pleted. The power, however, of giving it will be transmitted to you in the accustomed manner, and the time of exercising that power will be left entirely to your own discretion, with a confident hope and belief, however, that there will be no occasion for its being brought into use at an earlier period than that which has been suggested by your Excellency.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

London, June 14, 1800.

My dear Lord—I did not arrive here till this morning. I have seen the Duke of Portland, Mr. Pitt, and King. With the latter I had a full talk upon the necessity of putting an end to every scruple as to Lord Cornwallis's arrangements, I find, as the Duke of Portland told me, that there were some difficulties, but, I think, if the Lord-Lieutenant perseveres, they will be got over. I have enforced to King every argument I could for their complying completely with every suggestion; and he promises me to state them fairly and fully. The Duke told me that he had written to his Excellency on the arrangements, and that he wished no Peers to be made till the Union was passed. I said I conceived his Excellency thought that measure indispensable to the security of his list, and to the fulfilment of his engagements. The Duke said he had pressed his objection strongly.

Mr. Pitt was just going out—he looks well—and I merely talked to him of the misconception he had got into respecting the Countervailing Duties, and satisfied him of his misconception. In my journey, I had seen a newspaper stating that Mr. Pitt waited for the concurrence of the Irish Parliament to the alteration made by the British Parliament in the Irish Countervailing Duties. I was struck on a heap. I was afraid I had been inattentive; yet I knew I had made the comparison of them myself, and found that they corresponded. As

soon as I arrived in town, I made King compare them again with me, and I found all was right: I then requested Mr. Pitt to send for the English and Irish votes, which he did in my presence, and was satisfied. It will not, therefore, be necessary for your Lordship to take any measure in Parliament on the subject. I fear you have been puzzled and alarmed.

I rejoice Compensation went so smoothly. The Duke of Portland approves what you do for the Speaker.

No foreign news.

Ever your Lordship's, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Charles Tottenham to Lord Castlereagh.

Merrion Street, June 16, 1800.

My Lord—As I find it is the intention of Government that the Compensation for the Ecclesiastical Boroughs shall be given to the Board of First Fruits, I beg leave to suggest to your Lordship that, as some churches, particularly the church of Old Ross, in the Diocese of Leighlin and Ferns, were burnt and destroyed by the Rebels; and, as I know that the parishioners are unable, from the variety of losses that they have sustained by the Rebellion, to raise any money towards the rebuilding of their churches, it would be well to enable the Board of First Fruits to rebuild churches in the Diocese of Ferns with part of the Compensation money.

I also beg leave to mention that the Bishop of Ferns appointed Commissioners the beginning of the last winter to examine the state of the church of New Ross, and that they, assisted by an able architect, reported to the Bishop that the church is in a ruinous state, and that the walls of it will not bear a new roof, and that the whole must be rebuilt. As the parishioners are unable to raise a sum sufficient to rebuild, I should hope that a part of the Compensation money for the Borough of Old Leighlin might be appropriated to the rebuilding of this church, as well as that of Old Ross. The Board of First Fruits cannot, by the powers now vested in them, give

any money to rebuild a church where divine service has been performed within the last twenty years, so that it will not be in their power to give money for the above purposes, except a clause shall be introduced into an Act of Parliament to give them that power. I have no doubt but the Bishop of Ferns will approve highly of the appropriation of part of the money for the above purposes, and I have wrote to him to Wales about it.

I beg pardon for troubling you on this subject, but, as I am much interested in the welfare of these towns, I feel it to be my duty to mention this business to you.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

CHARLES TOTTENHAM.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Secret and Confidential. Dublin Castle, June 17, 1800.

My Lord—After having passed two painful years of difficulty and anxiety, my prospect had begun to brighten; the spirit of rebellion was almost universally subsiding, and the great and important measure of Union was not only carried by a majority in Parliament, but received throughout the nation and even in the metropolis with less ill-humour than could have been expected; and many of the most respectable, although not, during the contest, the least violent of the Anti-Unionists had declared that they wished no longer to be ranked among the Opposers of the Government. But your Grace's despatches of the 12th and 13th, as far as my personal feelings are concerned, have placed me in a more distressing situation than I have yet experienced.

In the most severe trials, I have hitherto been able to conduct myself with a firmness becoming a man of honour and integrity, but now my condition is so much altered that I must either say to those whom I am about to disappoint, that I will not keep my word with them, or acknowledge that I have

pretended to have power which I did not possess, and that I must declare my engagements to be void, because his Majesty's Ministers have refused to fulfil them.

Your Grace and his Majesty's confidential servants do not appear to be aware of the difficulties in which we should be involved by deferring the creation of the Peers until the Union Act has received the royal assent. For, although I admit that it would be a matter of very little importance to the welfare of the Empire whether five or six Unionist or Anti-Unionist Peers should sit in the Imperial Parliament, yet I must contend that it would be of great consequence to the person on whom the administration of the affairs of this kingdom was imposed, if the former should, after the assurances they had received, have any colour for imputing their disappointment to what they might deem his treacherous delay; and it seems a degradation not altogether consistent with the nature of the distinction intended for the individuals in question, so to manage their creation as studiously to deprive them of all interference in the delegation from the body to which they are hereafter to belong, and to the interests of which they are to be associated.

I am so overcome by your Grace's letter, that I know not how to proceed. There was no sacrifice that I should not have been happy to make for the service of my King and country, except that of my honour; the mischief, however, will not end with my disgrace, but the confidence in the English Government will be shaken, and the ill humour of our disappointed supporters will greatly retard the benefits which might have been expected from the measure, and will not tend to strengthen the hands of my successor.

I stated to your Grace in my former letter what I had said to Lord Ormonde: if I should now tell him that his Majesty had refused the boon which I had asked as a personal favour to myself, he will not believe that I had pressed it in a manner that he had a right to expect; and it is likely that there

will then be an end of all intercourse between us. I have had no communication with Lord Londonderry on the subject of a British Peerage, but I felt that it ought to be offered to him on account of the eminent services of his son.

I have now only to request that your Grace will assure his Majesty that I have on this occasion served him honestly and faithfully to the best of my abilities: that I have been biassed by no private motives or partialities, and that all my measures have been solely and uniformly directed to the attainment of that great object, in which the honour of his crown and the security of his dominions were so deeply involved. He will, I am persuaded, see the necessity of my having entered into embarrassing engagements, according to the various circumstances which occurred during the long and arduous contest; and if any of them should appear so strongly to merit his disapprobation as to induce him to withhold his consent to their being carried into effect, he will be pleased to allow me to retire from a station which I could no longer hold with honour to myself, or with any prospect of advantage to his service.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden.

Secret. Dublin Castle, June 18, 1800.

My dear Lord—Although your letter from Wildernesse is silent on the subject of the Irish arrangements in general, which have been recommended from hence, yet I must suppose that you are fully apprized of the communication made by Lord Cornwallis on this subject, and of the answer which has been returned to his despatch.

The tone in which the Duke's despatch is written appears to the Lord-Lieutenant peculiarly ungracious, and it conveys a disapprobation of almost the whole of his arrangements, in terms which make him feel the extent of his embarrassments on both sides of the water. I trust, however, the Duke's next

despatch will be of a less unpleasant cast. I confess it appears to me that Lord Cornwallis, having been directed to undertake and carry the measure of Union, and having been fully authorized, by various despatches, to make arrangements with individuals, to which not only the faith of his own but of the English Government was understood to be pledged, will be very harshly treated, if the wisdom of his arrangements, now the measure is secured, is to be canvassed at a moment when the pressing necessities under which those arrangements were made cannot but be very fresh in the recollection even of persons on the spot, but certainly cannot be fairly estimated by those who were removed from the scene of action.

If the Irish Government is not enabled to keep faith with the various individuals who have acted upon a principle of confidence in their honour, it is morally impossible, my dear Lord, that either Lord Cornwallis or I can remain in our present situations: the moment it is surmised that we have lost the confidence and support of the English Government, we shall have every expectant upon our backs, and it will remain a breach of faith, as injurious to the character of Government as to our own, having given an assurance which we were not enabled to fulfil.

I am fully aware of the responsibility to which the Irish Government has been subjected in the exercise of the authority which I conceive to have been delegated to them at the outset of this measure: the importance of the object could have alone induced the King's Ministers to grant such powers; and I hope they will now, in deciding what remains to be done, advert to the nature of the struggle as well as the authority which the Irish Government conceived itself in the possession of. Whether that authority has been abused, is certainly a consideration to which those who were employed to administer it must be subject. It certainly has been exercised successfully, as far as the object is concerned, and not for any purposes personal either to Lord Cornwallis or myself. Whatever has

been done, has proceeded from the best view we could form of the necessities of our Government; and I feel assured that the King's Ministers, in reviewing it after the object is attained, will not be disposed to canvass it upon the cold grounds of abstract convenience in point of patronage, much less with any disposition to avoid the charge of having made the favours of the Crown, in an unusual extent, auxiliary to the measure.

In so long a struggle, in a certain period of which, after the defection of seven members in one division, the fate of the measure was in suspense, it is not wonderful that the scale of favours should have been somewhat deranged; if, in two or three instances, and I do not believe it will appear in more, certain individuals, availing themselves of circumstances, obtained assurances of favours to which in strictness they are not entitled. I should hope it will be reckoned rather a misfortune arising out of the state of parties than a fault, and that there will be rather a disposition to support the faith of Government than to supersede engagements, now the measure is secured, which, though they may be deemed improvident, when viewed unconnected with the accompanying circumstances, were certainly made with no other view than for the accomplishment of the object.

On the subject of English Peerages, whatever embarrassment may incidentally arise from compliance with the Lord-Lieutenant's suggestions, in *strictness* he has no right to complain, as he certainly never was authorized to make any engagements of such a nature. Had Mr. Pitt explained himself on this point, in answer to a private letter written by Lord Cornwallis some weeks since, expressly to ascertain how far he might hope for some accommodation in British Peerages, it certainly would have saved him from much of his present embarrassment, as I know he inferred from Mr. Pitt's silence that his wishes would be assented to, and was led, under that impression, to engage himself more explicitly relative to Representative Peerages than he would otherwise have done.

Under the impression that, by possibility, any difference of opinion should at present exist between the Government of the two countries, which, if not reconciled, must place both Lord Cornwallis and myself in the most painful predicament, I have been induced to write more at length than I proposed. It was my intention to have written to you in answer to your last letter; but the subject of it, you may well believe, cannot very much interest me, so long as there is any doubt upon a point which concerns my feelings more intimately.

Ever, my dear Lord, yours most affectionately,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. London, Wednesday, June 18, 1800.

My dear Lord—Genoa surrendered the 5th—the garrison are prisoners of war. The capitulation is in the *Moniteur* of the 13th.

I am writing at King's elbow, and have no other news.

There are the strongest feelings here in your favour, and they wish you not to let Lord Londonderry be an Imperial Peer, as they say you will ever be able to command that rank for your family.

I do not mean to come up till Saturday, when I am to meet Sir J. Nichols, on Admiralty business, of which I request that you will apprise the Lord Chancellor, that he may not take steps respecting Barrington.

I beg you will present my duty to my Lord-Lieutenant.—I long for a full account of the masquerade.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, June 19, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have just received your letter of the 16th, on the subject of which you will have learned, from

Cooke's letter of Saturday last, that you are perfectly right, and that they are wrong, in wording our joint Address of the 27th May for *your* concurrence.

Your Union Bill is on the road, but ours will be the first Act, of which, I suppose, we shall send you an exemplification, in like manner as you sent us an exemplification of the Representation Act. It matters not which Act passes first: all that is necessary is, that the Acts should be mutually exchanged and recorded in both countries.

Cooke is at Ealing.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.,

J. KING.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke.

Secret. Dublin Castle, June 21, 1800.

My dear Cooke—I thought, from the complexion of your first letter, that you were not altogether *au fait* of the impression under which the Duke of Portland's despatch was written; and I am glad that, without the delay of waiting for a communication from hence, King put you so far in possession of the state of affairs as to enable you to explain yourself upon them.

I am not much surprised that Ministers should abstractedly wish to get rid of B———, though I should feel very much so, if they should put that or any other awkwardness in competition with Lord Cornwallis's honour. They sent him into this country, to risk an established character, at the close of a political life, and I cannot easily persuade myself that Mr. Pitt will give him up on a point of patronage, after what he has accomplished. But, from King's arguments, it appears that the Cabinet, after having carried the measure by the force of influence, of which they were apprised in every despatch sent from hence for the last 18 months, wish to forget all this: they turn short round, and say it would be a pity to tarnish all that has been so well done, by giving any such shock to the public sentiment. If

they imagine they can take up popular grounds by disappointing their supporters, and by disgracing the Irish Government, I think they will find themselves mistaken. It will be no secret what has been promised, and by what means the Union has been secured. Disappointment will encourage, not prevent disclosure; and the only effect of such a proceeding on their part will be, to add the weight of their testimony to that of the Anti-Unionists, in proclaiming the profligacy of the means by which the measure has been accomplished.

Both the Duke of Portland's despatch and King's conversation seem to represent the sixteen new Peerages as created for the sole purpose of carrying the elections, and they say, we don't care if the half of the number is chosen against Government; the English of which is (if it has any meaning at all) that it is of little importance to us whether Lord Cornwallis is enabled to fulfil the expectations he has given, for the security of the measure, to its friends in the Lords or not: now the point is carried, let its supporters take care of themselves—let the Government, under whose faith they acted, settle it themselves as they can; and, notwithstanding the authority under which Lord Cornwallis acted, and which he never exercised in favour of a personal friend of his own, we are determined now to sit in judgment on all his engagements, to new-model them upon a communication not made in the most amicable terms, as best suits our own convenience, and, having condemned his conduct, to call upon him to preach moderation to his supporters; and, instead of fulfilling his engagements, to acquaint them that it is expected, from their known attachment to the King's Government, that they will waive their claims and be perfectly satisfied with whatever the *popular sentiment* enables his Majesty's Ministers to do for them.

It appears singular to me, that the most superficial observer should suppose the new peerages were conferred for any purposes of support connected with the House of Lords: they are all granted either to persons actually members of or connected with the House of Commons.

The only question is, if the Peerages are to be granted, whether, in policy or upon constitutional grounds, we are called upon to forego their support in the elections, by postponing their creations till after the Union passes. My own feeling has always been that, on the latter grounds, it is due to them to give them a participation in the elections. I think an opposite course shows that we are ashamed to face the act we are about to perfect; but, on the grounds of policy, the question is, whether a defeat will not bring upon Government a number of disappointed claimants, to whom you can make retribution in no other way than by giving them British Peerages; and, next, if we cannot afford to be beaten, whether it is not more desirable to take our security in the support of the new peers, who do not aspire to the representation themselves, than to depend altogether upon the support of the existing peers, who, if they can be prevailed upon to waive their own pretensions, will certainly rely much on the sacrifice: and we shall thus perhaps incur a new expenditure of patronage, as a reward for our scruples; if, by our weakness, we make the peers of our party, whom we do not mean to support, of too much consequence, they will certainly avail themselves of their authority (and we should recollect the Bishops cannot assist), whereas, if they are kept a little in check by new creations, their support will be more easily had, less cabal will take place in the elections, and the general strength of Government in the House of Lords will refute any charge of the creations being for election purposes.

I have not time to add more at present. I confess what has passed has wounded my feelings sensibly. I certainly was prepared for objections to an extensive arrangement, particularly on B———'s subject; but I thought they would have been urged with a cordiality towards Lord Cornwallis, which his services seem to command, and not in the tone and spirit of an adverse party. Efforts of influence more ostensible have been made by the Government of this kingdom, under the pressure of necessities less urgent than those he has had to

contend with: they have received the countenance and support of the present Ministers; and I should hope, if Lord Cornwallis has been the person to buy out and secure to the Crown for ever the fee-simple of Irish corruption, which has so long enfeebled the powers of Government and endangered the connection, that he is not to be the first sacrifice to his own exertions; nor is the present the first occasion upon which the King's Ministers will, I trust, think it expedient to conciliate popular opinion, by failing towards those who have served them to the best of their abilities.

Ever, my dear Cooke, most sincerely yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Camden to Mr. Cooke.

Wildernesse, June 21, 1800.

Dear Cooke—When Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland consulted me upon the arrangements recommended from Ireland, I told them I thought it became the English Government to accede to them with a good grace, and I advised that a letter to that effect should be written to Ireland. In this acquiescence I did not include English Peerages, which I did not understand Lord Cornwallis authorized to grant. With respect to the creation of English Peers, the King has been so very positive in his expressions upon that subject, that I believe his Minister will find it difficult to move him. When, however, the appearance of acting with ill faith towards the King's Ministers in another country is taken into the scale with the feelings of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh, I should imagine Mr. Pitt and the rest of the Ministers will endeavour to overcome the King's prejudices; but they would not have been faithful to him, had they not combated, with real and sincere desire of success, the Marquisates, and the English Peerages.

I shall see Mr. Pitt to-morrow early at Lord Frederick Campbell's, and, as he will probably send a messenger to London,

I will write to you after I have seen him. My advice has been and will be to comply. I told him so, and I told the King the same, and combated his surprise at the number of creations and promotions whenever he has spoken to me on the subject, with every argument which occurred to me.

Most sincerely yours, CAMDEN.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Coombank, June 22, 1800.

Dear Castlereagh—I am sure it will relieve your mind from a considerable load of anxiety when I inform you that I have little doubt all your arrangements will be agreed to. Much objection will be found to the measures; the Marquisates are disliked very much; but I think I may venture to apprize you that the engagements of the Irish Government will be made good.

Mr. Pitt, whom I met here to-day, and with whom I have had a long conversation, is much pleased with the temperate tone of your letter, the greater part of which I read to him, and I hope Lord Cornwallis will receive a satisfactory letter on this subject, after Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland have seen the King on Wednesday next.

Yours, most affectionately, CAMDEN.

Lord Camden to Mr. Cooke.

Coombank, June 22, 1800.

Dear Cooke—I have written a letter to Lord Castlereagh from hence, after seeing Mr. Pitt, to relieve his mind from the anxiety it is suffering, on account of the difficulties which have been made to some of Lord Cornwallis's arrangements. I imagine they will all be assented to, though Sir J. B.'s creation and representation is almost intolerable.

You will be so good as to forward Lord Castlereagh's letter.

Most sincerely yours,

CAMDEN.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, June 23, 1800.

My dear Lord—Since sending the messenger Courvoisier, yesterday, with a copy of Colclough's letter, &c., it has occurred to me that it may be of service to send you a facsimile of the handwriting, which I have done in a small box, which also contains a bit of putty, on which I have taken off, as well as I can, the impression of the seal, which is broken, and is the figure of Hope leaning on an anchor. The man, if taken up, may have the seal upon him. The whole letter, as well as the signature, is in the same handwriting.

Cooke has written you all that looks like news to-day, as well as on another subject.

I remain, &c.,

J. KING.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

London, June 23, 1800.

My dear Lord—I enclose letters from Lord Camden. The King's answer to Lord Cornwallis's despatch has been received by the Duke of Portland: it leaves the decision to his Grace and Mr. Pitt; consequently, every thing promised, and the Peerages, I think, will be conceded: and I therefore think you may forthwith proceed and send over without delay the official recommendations of the new Peers and their titles, and I will have the letters expedited. His Majesty was, I understand, not well satisfied; but I hope all will now be smooth.

The Duke is aware of your applying the £4000 a-year saving in the Civil List.

I think you ought to send over the official recommendations of the Peerages without a moment's delay. I have not the titles. I have not any memorandum as to your arrangements.

The King approves of the application to Parliament in favour of Mason and Roscommon, and Lord Aylmer.[1]

[1] Matthew Whitworth, fifth Baron Aylmer.

I was much pleased with his Excellency's despatch. I thought he would have acted so; and it was the only method of carrying the business. Mr. Pitt was the only person who originally conceived the matter rightly; but he would have done much to have avoided conceding Sir J. B.'s Representative Peerage. The Duke of Portland has felt a little sore that his Excellency has been reserved in his communications as to engagements at the time of entering into them, or rather previous to it. What then is a *carte blanche?*

There is a story of a French paper having been read by a person arrived from France, stating a battle at Lodi, in which Buonaparte was at first defeated, but in the end recovered his position; and that the armies were fighting. If this be true, Buonaparte has been defeated.

I conceive Colclough, mentioned in the intercepted letter, is the proprietor of Enniscorthy. The seal of his letter was a common *Hope resting on an anchor.* It could easily be known if he had such a seal.

I send off this by express, as your Lordship must be very uneasy.

I request you will present my duty to his Excellency.

Most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke.

Secret. Dublin Castle, June 25, 1800.

My dear Cooke—Your letter, with those from Lord Camden, reached me this morning, and of course relieved me from much anxiety. Lord Cornwallis, satisfied that Ministers are disposed to have a due consideration for his feelings and honour, is not less anxious, as far as he can with good faith, to accommodate to their impressions.

I am sorry the Duke of Portland should attribute Lord Cornwallis's silence on his arrangements to any disinclination to confidential communication. The fact is that he conceived

the general authority was given him expressly to supersede the necessity of submitting points of this nature for consideration, the decision on which, generally speaking, admitted of no delay. In truth, it was impossible for him to make Ministers feel the necessities under which he acted, even had the delay been consistent with the nature of the struggle. His Grace will easily conceive how embarrassing and discouraging to him it must have been, in the progress of such a contest, to have been subject to perpetual remonstrances and objections, and how fatal it must have been to the measure, if the disinclination of Ministers to the arrangements had transpired. In that case, Government would have had all the odium and none of the advantages of its favours: while waiting for the sanction of the Cabinet, they must have given hopes which it would have been afterwards difficult to disappoint. Any doubt or delay would have produced all the evils of a refusal, and the suspense in itself caused an uneasiness productive of disclosures and naturally of new claims growing out of each other. I am satisfied the Union could not have been carried without the most unqualified authority in the person charged with its execution; the most entire support from the English Government, which perhaps a variance of opinion on points viewed under dissimilar situations hardly admits; and, lastly, a power to act without delay and with the utmost secrecy. The system which the Irish Government acted upon was one of greater responsibility and risk to itself, but for the accomplishment of the object it was indispensable. I am persuaded Lord C.'s own wish would have been to carry the Duke of Portland's judgment and concurrence with him on every point, could he have done it without disadvantage to the measure; and the zeal his Grace uniformly showed, in all his communications to the Lord-Lieutenant and in all his conversations with me, to call forth the utmost powers of Government in both countries to accomplish the measure, would have made it peculiarly satisfactory to his Excellency to have carried his Grace's conviction along with him; but he

felt, while the point was at issue, that he had no alternative but to act, and to trust his conduct to the future approbation of his Majesty's Ministers. As this is a point on which an explanation is not likely to take place between the parties, I have troubled you with this detail, in hopes that it may not be misunderstood.

Now, as to myself and the wish expressed by Mr. Pitt to see me in England, I do not see how I can leave Ireland till after the Session closes and the election of Peers is made. We shall yet have a fortnight's business in the Commons. The Bills, in passing the Lords and returning from England, will delay us in all from three weeks to a month before the doors of Parliament can be fairly shut. What I should therefore propose for Mr. Pitt's consideration is that I should go over for a short time immediately after the prorogation. I should naturally settle our official arrangements with my Lord-Lieutenant before my departure, and carry them over for the sanction of Ministers: if approved, they could be returned and carried into execution in my absence. After staying such time as might be necessary for receiving my instructions, I should wish to return home, with a view of looking after the Canal and Compensation proceedings, which are both delicate subjects, and of preparing for the new order of things. If Mr. Pitt approves of this suggestion, it will equally suit me to attend him in the country or in town, and of course it need not, in any degree, interfere with his arrangements.

When I ask you whether you propose being in Ireland about that time, I trust you will understand distinctly that I do not see the necessity of it, or I would say so. I wish you entirely to consider the object you went to accomplish, and I only inquire that I may make my arrangements accordingly.

Ever, my dear Cooke, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden.

Secret. Dublin Castle, June 25, 1800.

My dear Lord—I am very thankful for your two letters, which reached me this morning by express. Although it must still be a subject of much painful reflection that any part of the arrangements suggested from hence should be unpleasant either to his Majesty or his Ministers, yet it certainly is comparatively a great relief to my mind, to find that the good faith of a Government to which I am associated, and the honour of a person under whom I act, are to be supported, at all events; and although I cannot hope that time will ever recommend a particular part of the arrangements to the approbation of Ministers, I do not despair, when the whole of the transaction is understood in detail, that they will be of opinion that the measure has been accomplished on terms as little injurious either to the character or permanent interests of Government as could have been reasonably hoped for.

Assured that there is every disposition in Ministers to uphold his engagements, Lord Cornwallis is not less anxious, as far as he can in good faith, to accommodate to their sentiments.

It may naturally occur to Ministers that embarrassment could not have arisen, had there been an unreserved communication between the two Governments on the subject of engagements at the time of making them, or rather previous to it; but then it is equally reasonable to consider how much difficulty and positive injury to the measure might have arisen from the Irish Government not feeling itself enabled to act on the spur of the moment. The Ministers, I am sure, will feel how impossible it would have been to enable them to estimate the necessities under which we acted, and how difficult it would have been, in the progress of the struggle, to reconcile those who formed their opinions at a distance to measures which were felt to be indispensable by those on the spot. The delay and remonstrances to which such a course of proceeding must

have led would, I fear, have disabled us from acting with effect, and destroyed the confidence between the two Governments so essential to our cause. It certainly would have been the safest course for the Irish Government to have taken, had its first object been to avoid responsibility; but, looking only to the accomplishment of the object, and trusting to the liberal support of those under whom they were serving, they preferred acting upon the exigency as it arose; and, I am satisfied, my dear Lord, your own mind will easily suggest to you how fatal any opposition from your side of the water might have been, while the point was at issue, to measures of patronage suggested from hence; how injurious the delay of communication must have proved, and how unpleasant it would have been to the Cabinet to have been called on, day after day, to sanction what they must feel a reluctance to concede under any circumstance but indispensable necessity, and yet, from the very nature of the case, precluded from forming any correct estimate of that necessity. You probably would have thought we were going too far; we should have thought you were not permitting us to go far enough. Under your representations, we should perhaps have been insensibly led to act with caution at moments when vigour was required; and, after a fruitless expenditure of patronage, the measure might have been lost.

The Irish Government is certainly now liable to the charge of having gone too far in complying with the demands of individuals; but, had the Union miscarried, and the failure been traceable to a reluctance on the part of Government to interest a sufficient number of supporters in its success, I am inclined to think we should have met with, and, in fact, deserved less mercy.

Several of our supporters were speculating on which side the strength would ultimately lie, and things were so balanced as to enable single individuals, conversant with cabal, to have produced a very serious impression. The point is now secured;

and, though it is much to be wished that nothing had arisen out of the struggle to be regretted, yet I trust you will feel that it is more natural to wish than to expect such an issue; and, if reluctance is felt on your side of the water to the accomplishment of the proposed favours, be assured they were not entertained and promised without much pain by Lord Cornwallis.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Ealing, June 26, 1800.

My dear Lord—I hope the Duke of Portland's last letters to my Lord-Lieutenant have proved satisfactory. King assured me that his Grace's note to his Majesty, on communicating Lord Cornwallis's despatch, was expressed in the handsomest terms.

The last news from Italy has, I believe, greatly disconcerted Administration;[1] and, if events of a different kind do not speedily ensue, matters will be unpleasant. I conceive a peace will be demanded by the nation upon every account.

1. All our projects of keeping our Allies together have ever failed at the most critical periods.

2. The Allies have, on feeling the pressure of disaster, made a separate peace.

3. Whatever be the changes of things in France, it appears that every new change produces new energy and exertion, and disappoints the hope that revolution of internal Government will extinguish the spirit of the nation, or disorganize its armies.

4. It appears we could not effect our purpose when Prussia and Austria were united with the empire, and Holland in our favour;

[1] The disastrous battle of Marengo had been fought on the 14th of June.

5. That we could not effect our purpose when Russia and the Emperor were united with us.

6. That we could not effect our purpose when the Emperor alone was united with us;

Can we then hope to do so when we fight single?

Suppose, in this campaign, France gets the superiority in Italy, and the Emperor does not make peace—will not the establishment of France in Italy make her more formidable next campaign?

Is not Spain at the mercy of France? Shall we be in a better situation for peace, when France shall insist that Spain shall allow her to lead an army into Portugal?

I think this chain of reasoning might be well laid before the public, so as to make a great effect. In the next place, all the ill success of our military efforts might be stated; and, thirdly, the near exhaustion of our finances.

I am certain, from some little conversation I have had, that there is an impression that a new course of things may take place.

I understand the Emperor of Russia has given up all connexion with us as to the war. The particulars which affronted him I know not; but the general cause of quarrel is, that we did not give a preference to his plans exclusively, and that, while we paid his forces, we insisted that we ought to have the direction of them.

What Austria may be driven to is uncertain, but, in consequence of her coldness with Russia and Prussia, her attachment to us must have increased.

I hear our possessions in India are in a good state. All our West India islands are quiet, but the state of St. Domingo is very alarming. That country is now divided into two governments, one under Toussaint, the other under Rigaud. The former has an army of 35,000 Blacks, the other of 20,000, and their power is balanced. Toussaint has failed in many of the articles of treaty with us, and I hear that it is the present

policy to keep up this rivalry of the two parties, and to nourish their mutual animosity. Whether this may be wise or not, I am no judge; but this is certain, that if a black empire be established in St. Domingo, which seems probable, Jamaica will be ever in danger. Guadaloupe, I hear, is not formidable, and it has no port.

I know not the real state of Egypt or Malta.

I understand Buonaparte had offered the Emperor the most favourable terms for a separate peace previous to the campaign.

I have no doubt your Lordship will immediately feel the effect of the Austrian disasters in the renewed activity of the United Irishmen.

With respect to Colclough and Hearne, I am almost inclined to suspect that a trick has been played on Government. It is singular that the person who picked up the pocket-book should be the brother of the High Sheriff of Wexford; and your Lordship knows the animosity against Colclough, &c., of the Wexford Orangemen.

There is a Mr. Elliott, who lives in Kilkenny, and is a cousin of General Clarke's, that receives emissaries, and probably letters on treasonable matters.

I do not think anything serious will be thought of as to the arrangement of Ireland, until your Lordship comes over.

I am, &c.

E. COOKE.

The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Private and Confidential. Whitehall, June 27, 1800.

My Dear Lord—Nothing certainly could be farther from my intention than to propose any measure for your Excellency's adoption that could place you in any distress whatsoever; and impossible as I conceived the despatches which I had the honour of writing to you on the 13th, to have hurt any of your personal feelings, I most sincerely lament the impression they made upon your Excellency, and I can assure you, for

my own part, that, had it appeared to me possible that they could have produced such an effect, I think myself incapable of writing them to you, and, what is still more, I am satisfied that, had they been seen in that light either by his Majesty, or by any of his servants to whom they were communicated, they would never have been suffered to have found their way to you. I hope I am not less sensible than any other person with whom I have the honour of acting in administration, of the severe trials your Excellency has undergone, of the firmness and integrity with which you have conducted yourself, of your ability and success in conciliating the affections of the different descriptions of his Majesty's Irish subjects, of the value of the important work which you have undertaken, and of the services you have rendered, and the honour you have acquired, by bringing the Union, the greatest and most desirable measure which ever was in contemplation, to its happy and final accomplishment. Need I then, with such sentiments, disclaim any intention of hurting your peace of mind, much less of suggesting to you the breach of an engagement, or even the disappointment of a hope, which you had thought it right to encourage or to give sanction to?

I will not enter into the defence of either of my despatches, further than to say that several of your engagements I considered, and I still think I was not mistaken in considering them, not to be absolute; but an appeal to yourself. I desire to remind your Excellency that they were not his Majesty's commands, but his opinions and wishes, that I signified to you. His Majesty acknowledged the difficulty of the task you had undertaken, and the merits of your labours. He was not forgetful of the powers you were necessarily entrusted with for that purpose; and if his being desirous that they should be used as temperately as the nature of the case would admit occasioned him to direct me to represent to you his wishes that, in certain instances, the benefits to be derived from them should be suspended or restrained,

having trusted the exercise of such powers to your Excellency, his Majesty was as little disposed as his servants to withdraw them from you, or to require you to break your engagements. It would still be certainly his Majesty's wish that no new peer should be created until the election of the twenty-eight had taken place, and even, as I before stated, that the number could be made at different, rather than at the same time. But, if you have entered into positive engagements upon that subject, his Majesty will not refuse to confirm them, and your Excellency will proceed to carry them into effect, at the time and in the manner you shall judge most expedient for his Majesty's service.

As his Majesty had only authorized assurances to be given to Lord Ely, that he might depend upon being made a peer of Great Britain, although the eminence of Lord Castlereagh's services has been such, as in his Majesty's gracious consideration, as well as in the unanimous opinion of the public, to entitle Lord Londonderry to that distinction, as the claims of the Marquess of Drogheda and of the Earls of Ormonde and Carysfort to be Members of the Representative Peerage were irresistible, it will not appear so unreasonable that I should have imagined that some of your engagements in that respect must be conditional also; and I had nothing in particular to lead me to suppose that the displacing of the persons whom I suggested as most easily removeable was inconsistent with your engagements; but the assurances I now understand to have been given by your Excellency make me desist from urging that matter further, and I shall confine myself solely to recommend it to you to find an opening for Lord Drogheda among the candidates for the Representative Peerages, and to reserve one for Lord Londonderry, if he should be prevailed upon to see that his Majesty's interests will certainly be best promoted by his not having the British Peerage added to his Irish honours, and that his family will be no sufferers by it, as his Majesty is pleased to authorize your Excellency to assure

Lord Londonderry and Lord Castlereagh that, at any time that it may be the wish of Lord Londonderry, or any of his descendants when in possession of the title, to have a British Peerage conferred on them, the sense his Majesty has of Lord Castlereagh's most distinguished and meritorious services will ever be remembered by his Majesty; and his Majesty will be ready to fulfil their wishes in such a manner that, should it not take place in the lifetime of Lord Londonderry, his posterity, by his present or any future Countess, would derive the same benefit from it as if the creation had taken place in the lifetime of the present Earl.

I abstain from entering into any reasoning about the Marquisates, as well as about the other promotions proposed in the Peerage, upon the ground of the engagements your Excellency has entered into with the parties being absolute and irrevocable, but by resorting to those means which of all others are the least likely to be recommended to or adopted by his Majesty.

His Majesty will also be much gratified by as sparing and as tardy a distribution of Irish honours as the interest of his service will admit; and, at the same time that his Majesty relies upon your Excellency's judgment and discretion in preventing any prodigality in the dispensation of the patronage of the Crown, he looks to you with no less confidence for the preservation of the honour of Government, and the religious performance of all its engagements.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, July 2, 1800.

My Lord—I feel the greatest satisfaction in acquainting your Excellency that the Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland has this day received the royal assent; his Majesty attending in person, for the purpose of passing into a law a

measure of such importance to the interests of both countries and to those of the Empire at large.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. London, Wednesday night, July 2, 1800.

My dear Lord—Much as I incline to hope that the letter I wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant on the 27th of last month has removed every possible doubt that can have occurred to you respecting the opinion of the King's servants upon the manner in which the important and arduous work of the Union has been conducted on your side of the water, and that you are thoroughly satisfied of the desire and anxious wish which is felt to do you the fullest justice in every step that has been taken by you throughout the course of that great measure, I cannot help troubling you with a repetition of the assurances I addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, for the express purpose of adding that, on all those trying occasions in which you were so frequently exposed, and in which it was impossible for you to resort to the assistance of the Lord-Lieutenant's advice and experience, the determinations you formed have so constantly and unexceptionably manifested such powers of talents and judgment as cannot but be considered as entitling you to our particular acknowledgment and thanks, and to the respect and gratitude of both Kingdoms.

After such a declaration, which I make with equal pleasure and sincerity, I feel myself in some degree called upon to revert to the subject of the English Peerage to Lord Londonderry, and to enter into such an explanation respecting it as may put you in full possession of the King's gracious intentions towards you, Lord Londonderry, and all your house, as may convince you of the justice his Majesty is disposed to do to your Lordship; and that the idea of not giving an English Peerage to Lord Londonderry was suggested only by those

parental feelings which dispose his Majesty to attend to every means of promoting the interests of his people. On this principle, his Majesty wished that it should be stated to you and to Lord Londonderry that your own respective interests and those of your family, together with those of the Empire at large, might be better consulted by Lord Londonderry's not being created a British Peer, and by your not coming into the House of Lords of the United Kingdom until age, infirmity, or the desire of repose, should make you wish to retire from the more busy and active scene of the House of Commons, and that, at whatever time that inclination should show itself and be expressed, whether during the lifetime of Lord Londonderry or not, until your Lordship had succeeded to that title, the descendants of Lord Londonderry, by his present or any future Countess, should be included in the succession to the Peerage, in the same manner as if it had been or was now to be granted to him; and I should further add, that, if neither Lord Londonderry nor your Lordship should ever hold a British Peerage, his Majesty was pleased to say that your services could not but be so remembered as to secure that distinction to your and Lord Londonderry's descendants at any future period.

Although the services which his Majesty believes you may render to the public by remaining in the House of Commons have occasioned him to direct me to make this opinion known to you, I am no less expressly commanded to acquaint you that it is his Majesty's particular and earnest desire and hope, that your own determination, with respect to the Peerage, which his Majesty would be sorry not to confer at this moment (I mean, when the creation of Lord Ely takes place) upon Lord Londonderry, if there was any doubt on his mind with regard to the propriety of declining it, will not be influenced in any respect whatever by his Majesty's opinion; and it is, moreover, his desire that it should not even be mentioned to Lord Londonderry, if it can be imagined that it can give him the

least uneasiness or any sort of embarrassment whatever. The Peerage you will consider absolutely in your own hands, to take at this or any other time that may appear to you to be more desirable, with all the consequences and advantages to Lord Londonderry's family that it would confer if given in his or your Lordship's lifetime.

Although this letter is of so confidential a nature as that the details of it should not be the subject of public conversation, your Lordship will consider it, if you think proper to communicate it to him, as no less addressed to Lord Londonderry than to yourself, and that you and your descendants, respectively, are at liberty to produce it at any time that the interests of the family may make it requisite.

I am, with the most perfect truth, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

London, July 2, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have not yet an answer as to your coming over. I have desired King to get it from Mr. Pitt, whom, in this moment of trouble, I do not like interrupting.

Ministers are waiting for despatches from Vienna: the last are merely up to the taking of Genoa, and all was in high spirits there, and the firmness of their language everything to be wished. What may be the feelings on the unaccountable reverse of fortune is not to be predicted.

A Swiss gentleman, lately arrived from France, gives this account—that Buonaparte is adored; everything is plentiful but money; that Paris is all gaiety; that they talk little of politics; that they seem contented with their Government, and wish for peace. Buonaparte's preparations for his campaign were kept as secret and were as extensive as possible; that he has another army of reserve as numerous as that which is victorious. The Democrats are beginning to revive, and have meetings, and drink revolutionary toasts.

I think your Canal plan good, if you get good Directors. The engineer King wrote for cannot come over. Would you wish another to be spoken to?

The Peerages are all in hand. Mr. Pollock is, however, afraid they cannot be despatched until Monday: he will do what he can. A warrant of precedence will be sent with them, so that they may all pass on the same day, and Mr. Taylor might begin to have everything in readiness, as he has the titles.

I will come whenever you wish me, as my sister is, I may say, entirely recovered: there may be a relapse, but I think there is no danger: she wishes me to go home with her, but I can easily avoid it.

I am extremely happy that everything like unpleasantness of feeling between the Lord-Lieutenant and Ministers is at an end. Certainly the tone of the Duke of Portland's letter was harsh; but the explanation is so cordial, that I am sure every effect of it is obliterated from his Excellency's mind.

I am almost persuaded that you will be obliged to postpone your father's Peerage. No man ever was so flatteringly pressed to decline honours. The real fact is, that they hope you will make the same figure, and take the same lead which you have done in Ireland, and they sadly want some character on whom business may repose. Mr. Pitt's health is certainly equivocal: his personal contest with Buonaparte may distress him, should he be driven to peace. Windham is ingeniously imprudent; Dundas is retiring; Ryder is an invalid; Lord Hawkesbury not leading talents; Canning neither rank nor authority, and has not yet shown himself a man of business. I think there is more general idleness here than in Ireland.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden.

Secret. Phœnix Park, July 2, 1800.

My dear Lord—The circumstances upon which I have lately written to you have been of a nature to turn my attention, for

a time at least, from the letter you were so kind as to write to me some time since. The Duke of Portland's last despatch relieves me from all public embarrassment, and leaves me at liberty to express my sincere thanks to you for the interest you have taken in all my personal feelings.

As it is impossible for me to leave Ireland before the Union Act passes, as far as my father's Peerage is concerned, it must of course be decided without my having the advantage of a personal communication either with you or Mr. Pitt. In fact, I consider it as already concluded by the terms of the Duke of Portland's despatch, which expresses much too strong a wish on the point to allow either my father or myself to hesitate on the subject.

Without attributing to Mr. Pitt's conversation with you any construction which could give me the slightest claim upon him, I should not have hesitated, were the point merely personal to myself, to waive a favour which, *in his contemplation*, by possibility, might render me less useful to the party with whom I act; but, considering my father and his children certainly *not less interested* in the decision than myself, I felt much embarrassment in taking a decision upon the point.

My father, to whom I have communicated everything that has passed on the subject, particularly that part of the Duke's last letter which concerns him, seems to have no doubt what it is his duty to determine, and so far I am relieved from a decision which I could not have made for him without considerable pain. He has this day expressed his acknowledgments to Lord Cornwallis for having submitted his name to the King for the distinction of a British Peerage, and requests him to express to his Majesty his gratitude for the gracious manner in which that request had been received, stating, at the same time, that nothing should induce him to avail himself of his Majesty's kind intentions, understanding that "his Majesty's interests might best be promoted by his not having that distinction at present conferred upon him." Whatever motives

may weigh upon the minds of Ministers, my father feels it to be his duty to conform altogether to their suggestions, and he is perfectly sensible of the flattering assurances he has received of having the favour granted hereafter, when circumstances may appear to justify my father or his family in wishing it. We are both fully impressed with the value of a British Peerage, but we are equally impressed with an opinion that no consideration of political risk ought to induce us to press it in opposition to the wish which has been expressed, that it should not, at least for the present, take place. I hope you will be of opinion that we have decided right.

We are proceeding with our business, and shall probably finish in the Commons the end of next week.

The continental news is not the most satisfactory to delay you upon; so I conclude, my dear Lord, by assuring you how sincerely and affectionately I am, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. London, Thursday, July 3, 1800.

My dear Lord—Considering the nature of the letter which you will receive herewith, I judge it necessary to put upon a separate paper the reasons which induced us to alter the intention I signified to you on Tuesday, respecting the Speech, the new Union Flag, and the firing the guns on the passing the Union Act. The nature of the intelligence which has been received from the Continent—I mean, from Italy and Germany (for there is no foundation whatever for that in the French papers respecting a descent at Quiberon)—made us think it advisable not to create, at *this moment*, any such sensation as would have been the effect of firing the Park and Tower guns; and the same consideration decided us against making a Speech so near the close of the Session, which would have deprived us of availing ourselves of the only event which we have to produce in the King's Speech to counterbalance all

the bad news which we have received, and the consequence of it which we have to expect, not to give us much more agreeable matter for the close of our Parliament. To this, besides, it may have been objected, that the Union was not completed, as the Act had not passed in Ireland, and therefore we were not in the same predicament as when Queen Anne made her Speech in the year 1707; and, as to the new Union Flag, that, though ready, was not hoisted, because we found out that we have no right to use it until the first of next year, when the Union takes place.

I am, very sincerely,

PORTLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Castlereagh.

Eden Farm, July 3, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have received your letter, accompanying the Report of the Committee on the state of your Inland Navigations. If the maps referred to in the papers annexed to that Report are in print, I should not have been sorry to have received them also; for, though it may be very true, in the words of the Report, that "the objects of your grants have been as various as the interests and inclinations of the petitioners," and that great sums of public money have from time to time been lavished, without "being attended with corresponding advantage to the public," it is nevertheless certain that, until Ireland shall be so far settled as to have that extent of credit and capital which can be attained only by a general sense of security, your internal improvement will go forward lamely and slowly. I conceive, therefore, that the principle of leaving such enterprises to private interest and private risk, though in general a sound principle, is not yet applicable to your situation: and I am glad that you mean to establish a public fund for the purpose, and to subject it to the control of a Board to protect it against abuses, and direct it to the best purposes. Under this impression, I shall have much pleasure

in studying the papers which you have sent to me, and I am not without hope that I may soon have an occasion to converse with you upon them; for Mr. Pitt, who passed a quiet day at this place on Sunday, seems to think it likely that you may come over immediately to adjust various details and personal considerations which cannot so well be adjusted by correspondence.

The importance of the great work which you have so gloriously accomplished appears every hour more prominent. I even hope that it may eventually be found almost a compensation in itself for all the expences and risks of the last score years.

These accounts from Italy, after all reasonable deductions for French exaggerations, are sadly sickening. I begin much to fear that we must consider the continent of Europe as lost to itself and to us for the present, and left to the chapter of future chances, or, in graver terms, to the hidden dispensations of Providence. We certainly expect to hear definitively from Vienna before the 10th or 12th of this month; and I presume that means will be found to keep Parliament sitting till we can learn the probable course of the continental arrangements. If we are to consider the continental war as at an end, we seem to find ourselves in the dilemma of either making war without any object of attack, or of purchasing an armed peace by sacrificing what the enemy has no means of taking. Thus far our countrymen seem steady, and to place an unshaken confidence in their Government. In due time, it will be thundered in our ears that we are in a worse comparative situation than when the answers were given to Buonaparte's first overtures: but that charge may easily be answered; and the unforeseen disasters which have taken place are imputable only to the Austrian ministers and generals. On the other hand, we are on very advantageous ground upon the comparison of our present situation with what it was at the Lisle negociation. We have since destroyed the French and Dutch fleets; we

have taken Surinam and Minorca; we have gained the security of our East India possessions; and here again we must not forget the Irish Union. A little time will throw light on this troubled and complicated speculation. After all, it is impossible not to feel great admiration for the energy and ability of Buonaparte. Will he declare himself King of France? Perhaps, under all the circumstances, this is now to be wished.

Lady Auckland desires to be kindly mentioned. We have had our married daughters and their husbands assembled with us at this place.

Believe me, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Grenville to Lord Castlereagh.

Cleveland Row, July 3, 1800.

My dear Lord—Having within these few days received the enclosed, I can of course take no other step upon it than to send it to you, and request to know what answer the Lord-Lieutenant and you wish I should give to it. I guess from its contents that the Duke of Leinster supposes he shall lose the County if he attempts to contest it against a Government candidate, and has fallen upon this expedient to secure his family interest.

The prospect of a general election being somewhat remote, it may, I conclude, be best to refer the decision of the line to be taken by Government on this subject to a period rather nearer to the event in question; but, as there may be some circumstances of which I am unapprized, that might make a more specific answer desirable, I have judged it best to trouble you with this letter on the subject. I cannot conclude it without heartily congratulating you on the final success of your labours, and on the great honour which is universally felt to result to you from them.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

GRENVILLE.

Private. No. 40, Welbeck Street, June 27, 1800.

My Lord—Reposing the same confidence in your Lordship which I did on a former occasion, when I had the honour of expressing my sentiments to you in regard to the Union, in a letter from Bath, it affords me great satisfaction to be able now to inform your Lordship, that my brother Leinster, although he considers the event in question as fatal to the political consequence of his family in Ireland, bows with due submission to the change, and, actuated solely by the honourable motive of preserving the peace of the County of Kildare at the ensuing election of members to be returned to the United Parliament, has consented, in my favour, to decline a contest which, in a different temper of mind, he conceives himself fully adequate to maintain there, and accordingly promised to lend me his support and interest in obtaining the seat for that County, without annexing any other condition than that of vacating it at any time that a change of ministers and measures may afford him the opportunity of more effectually supporting those with whom he has chiefly been in the habit of acting.

It would be idle in me, my Lord, to make a formal avowal here of my own political sentiments and opinions; they are, I trust, sufficiently known, and, being such as warrant me to entertain the hope that my nomination in the capacity alluded to may not prove unacceptable to Government, I have only to solicit the favour of your Lordship's friendly offices and counsels, in regard to the method fit to be pursued, in order to secure a point so flattering to my feelings as a warm and steady adherent to the present administration, and to dispose the Government of Ireland to countenance my pretensions preferably to those of any other candidate, if circumstances should call me abroad before the elections take place.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

ROBERT STEPHEN FITZGERALD.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, July 6, 1800.

My dear Lord—I beg leave to offer to your Grace my humble and grateful acknowledgments for your letter of the 2nd inst., which conveys to me his Majesty's gracious approbation of my conduct in terms so peculiarly kind and flattering, as to leave me nothing so anxiously to desire as that your Grace would undertake to express to the King my dutiful thanks, and to assure his Majesty of my earnest solicitude to merit a continuance of that favour with which his Majesty has thought fit to distinguish my humble efforts in his service on the present occasion.

The wisdom and ability of the high personage to whom the conduct of this great measure has been entrusted left me little to do other than implicitly to follow his instructions, and to take care that no inadvertence on my part should counteract the effects which his talents and the authority of his high character were calculated to produce. His labours have happily been crowned with success; and I trust his Excellency will live to receive, even from the opponents of the measure, a corresponding tribute of approbation with that which has already reached him through your Grace from his Sovereign.

The distinction of a British Peerage, which his Majesty has been pleased to destine for my family, is certainly the most valuable testimony of the King's favour, as well in Lord Londonderry's estimation as mine, which could have been proposed to us; but my father, whose feelings on this point would naturally govern mine, desires me to assure your Grace that his first wish and earnest desire is, that the accomplishment of his Majesty's gracious intentions, in point of time, should be entirely governed and regulated by what appears to his Majesty and to his ministers most likely to conduce to his interests.

The pains your Grace has taken to convey, with so much

personal friendship to me, the King's pleasure on this subject, and the care with which his Majesty has condescended to watch over the interests of every branch of the family, leave me nothing farther to add than again to entreat of your Grace to lay Lord Londonderry's and my dutiful acknowledgments before the King, to express to his Majesty the deep sense we entertain of his continued kindness, and to assure his Majesty we are disposed to receive, as an additional mark of his countenance and favour, that his Majesty has condescended to point out to us any line of conduct which, under any possible circumstances, might afford us an opportunity of rendering to his Majesty more useful services.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Private and Confidential. Dublin Castle, July 7, 1800.

My dear Lord—The assurances which are given in your Grace's letter, dated the 27th ultimo, that, if you had thought it possible that your despatches of the 13th of June could have placed me in so distressing a situation as I had represented with respect to my feelings of personal honour and good faith, they would not have been transmitted, and the encouragement you hold out to me to believe that his Majesty will not refuse his consent to those promotions which he feels himself the least disposed to confirm, provided that they are recommended by me in consequence of absolute and irrevocable engagements, have afforded me very sincere satisfaction.

I have used every means in my power to obviate the most inconvenient parts of the arrangement, which I detailed in my letter of the 3rd June, and particularly those which I thought were likely to be most disagreeable to his Majesty, but I am sorry to say that I have hitherto met with very little success; and the enclosed copy of a letter, which I have received from Lord Carleton, stating his claims to retire from his judicial

situation, under the provision of the Act of Parliament, deprives me of the only argument which I could have hoped to use with success, in order to induce him to relinquish the Representative Peerage, which object has been generally sought after with an earnestness not to be described, and has involved me in my greatest difficulties.

Lord Londonderry and Lord Castlereagh, who never brought forward any pretensions of their own, are perfectly willing to wait for that mark of his Majesty's favour, to which I thought it my duty to state their pretensions, until it shall suit his Majesty's convenience; but it will be impossible for me to throw back the Marquess of Drogheda on the list of Representative Peers, without not only disappointing any hope, which I had sanctioned, but being guilty of a breach of a positive engagement.

I think it unnecessary at present to make any further reference to the letters which have lately passed between us, than to assure your Grace that I shall ever set the highest value upon your friendship and esteem, and that I shall endeavour to conduct the public business in which I am engaged in the manner that I think will be most agreeable to the views and wishes of his Majesty's Ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Arlington Street, July 16, 1800.

I have not seen the Irish correspondence lately; I therefore have not read that letter of the Duke of Portland, in which he wished Lord Cornwallis to waive some of his recommendations, but I am told it was written in a very ungracious style. If such was its tenour, it certainly did not convey the sentiments of his colleagues, for every one of us are sensible of your joint merits, and no one, perhaps, so much as myself, who knows and can therefore appreciate your difficulties. My advice was to agree to all the recommendations with the best grace possible.

I am surprised you have not heard from Mr. Pitt. I understood he had been desirous of your coming here as soon as your Parliament closes, and indeed I should think it absolutely necessary.

The future Government of Ireland is not yet settled. If it is administered by a Lord-Lieutenant, I think, if it were in my power, it would not be consonant to my character, and the line I have taken to go there again. I told Cooke confidentially I thought it not improbable Lord Chatham might go there, and he very likely gave you a hint of it.

Believe me, most sincerely and affectionately,

Yours, CAMDEN.

PS. I am come to town to attend a Cabinet. The signing of the treaty of Vienna gives us a respite. I saw Mr. Pitt today about your coming over. I will write to-morrow.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Ardbraccan House, July 23, 1800.

My Lord—As your Lordship may have time, during the recess, to give a moment's thought to the mode of applying the compensation for the ecclesiastical Boroughs, I hope your Lordship will give me leave to trouble you once more on the subject.

I should suppose that, in the Report of the Commissioners, it could be stated that, as the present possessors of the Sees to which these Boroughs are annexed have no personal or permanent interest in them, and as they are to be considered as belonging to the Church, and contributing to its dignity and consequence, they are of opinion that, compensation being as justly due for these Boroughs as for others, it should be applied to some such general purposes of the Establishment for which his Majesty's predecessors granted the First Fruits, and the Parliament of Ireland has been in the habit of voting annual grants.

The Archbishop of Cashell's idea of applying the money to the increase of small livings would be, in my opinion, to render the grant nugatory and wholly unproductive. My reasons for thinking so, I will state *only* to your Lordship.

There is at this moment a balance of £24,000 in the hands of the treasurer of the First Fruits, out of the First Fruits and the annual grants of Parliament. The object of this fund is to encourage the building of churches, and to procure glebes and glebe-houses for the parochial clergy. Five hundred pounds is all that is allowed for building each church, and £100 are given to every person who builds a glebe-house; and, as to glebe, the only mode of augmentation the Board has admitted is, where glebes are given at a rent on leases for ever, to grant £200 for paying down £10 per annum. These sums have so little in them to encourage the Clergy to build, that it is not surprising that there are so few claimants, or that the funds should be so greatly accumulated. This year, I have applications for four churches and for two glebes, which Mr. T. Rochford and Mr. Gorges have given me for their respective parishes. The Bishop of Killaloe has, I believe, one or two similar applications to make, and I have heard of no more.

Besides this fund, there is another, left by Primate Boulter, for augmenting small benefices. Before the year 1773, annuities to a certain amount were granted by the Board out of this fund to such benefices as did not amount to £60 per annum. But, that year, the Board made a resolution that no more of these annuities should be granted, and that, in future, the fund should be applied only to the purchase of glebes and impropriate tithes. This resolution has been most strictly adhered to from that time to this; and, if I am rightly informed, not a single shilling of this money has been since granted, so that this fund also must have considerably increased within that period.

There is a third fund left by Primate Robinson, for encouraging the building of glebe-houses in the diocese of Armagh,

or, if not claimed there, within the province. Besides my wish that your Lordship should be thoroughly acquainted with these circumstances, I state them to show that, if the compensation money should be assigned over to the Board of First Fruits only for the purpose of increasing small benefices, it would be but adding to a fund that has been hitherto so little resorted to, and suffered to accumulate in the hands of the treasurer of the First Fruits.

It were certainly to be wished that the smaller benefices could be augmented in every part of the kingdom; and I would humbly suggest whether it would not be necessary to inquire whether they are the difficulties that are thrown in the way of applicants by the regulations of the Board, or the negligence of the Bishops in looking out for purchases, that have caused these excellent funds so little to answer their object. But the smallness of the benefices is not the radical evil of the Church of England.

The radical evil of the Church of England, and what has, ever since the Reformation, opposed its extension, is, that the parochial clergy are generally non-resident; nor can the Government ever advance the salutary purpose for which a parochial clergy is appointed so effectually as by enabling the Bishops to remove this great abuse. The powers with which they are actually vested for this purpose, as far as it is to be effected by compelling incumbents to build, are rendered ineffectual, chiefly by the hardships which the builder and his immediate successors must experience in procuring and advancing the necessary sums at their own personal risk, as it is their personal property and the inheritance of their family that are made the security. But if, in addition to the present encouragement, which may be new modified, this compensation money be altogether applied to the purpose of procuring residences, I think such a fund would be procured as would remove all the obstacles, and the Bishops, so far from being obliged to interfere authoritatively and to have recourse to sequestration,

will see their clergy voluntarily applying to them; for it must be in general their interest to build, when they are to be no longer personally charged with supplying the funds, nor lie out of their money the whole of their incumbency, nor encumber their family with debt for an object in which they have no peculiar interest, as is the case under the present system.

I am afraid to venture on any financial system for the accomplishment of this object by means of the thirty-five thousand pounds, which I suppose to be the sum allowed. It is a subject in which I am not at all conversant. But I should suppose, if this capital was invested in the public funds for the use of the Trustees of the First Fruits, that they might be enabled to issue debentures, or First Fruit Bills, bearing an interest similar to that of the fund in which the money is to be invested—these debentures to be given on the application of the Bishop, and in payments equal to the progress of the building to the builder, and entitling him, his heirs, and executors, to the principal sum mentioned in each debenture, and to so much interest as shall be expressed therein. Every builder receiving such debentures to be held bound to pay, from the day of his receiving each of them until the end of his incumbency, into the hands of the Trustees, in half-yearly payments, an interest amounting to two per cent. more than the rate of interest which the debenture received shall bear, if he constantly resides, and four per cent. more if he do not reside twenty weeks in each year. At the close of each incumbency, this obligation to be transferred to the successor till the whole debt be liquidated. Provision could easily be made for enforcing the payment of this interest, as well as for the Trustees to apply this surplus interest for buying up outstanding debentures, in like manner as is practised in the Treasury, in respect to debentures issued from thence.

I must repeat my apprehensions that I may expose my own ignorance on this subject, and wantonly abuse your Lordship's time and patience. But, to persons more con-

versant in money calculations, I should suppose that such a capital would afford ample means of accomplishing this most desirable object.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and most sincere attachment, &c. &c.,

T. L. MEATH.

[Indorse.]

July 25, 1800.

Sent an extract relative to Ecclesiastical Boroughs to the Archbishop of Cashell in a private note, and thanked the Bishop of Meath.

The Rev. Dr. Moylan, R. C. Bishop of Cork, to Mr. Marshall.

Cork, July 26, 1800.

My dear Sir—Allow me to request your kind attention to the enclosed receipts. The two poor gentlemen, who have solicited me to forward them, are in great distress, and of all the French Emigrants in this city they certainly are the most deserving of the compassion and charitable protection of Government. Lord Castlereagh, unless I misconceived him, had the goodness to give me hopes that some addition would be made to their small pension: it would be an act of great benevolence and humanity, worthy of his Lordship. The great question of Legislative Union is, thank God, most happily decided. The manner in which Lord Castlereagh has conducted that important measure is highly honourable to his Lordship, and evinces the most extensive abilities. He has closed a most glorious and successful parliamentary campaign. May the Almighty grant him health and length of days to consolidate this good work, and to see the advantages realised which are expected eventually to accrue from it to this much distracted country! I trust it will put an effectual stop to those civil and religious disorders, which have so shamefully disgraced this nation, and which it seems still the inclination of a certain faction to keep up. Never did that faction display

more violence and rancour of disposition than they did on the first of this month in this city, and in every town of this county, where they have the least influence. Had it not been for the timely precautions taken by General Myers, the peace of this city would have been greatly disturbed, and that day would undoubtedly have been a day of much bloodshed. I hear with much satisfaction that very little of such factious proceedings have appeared in the other parts of this kingdom: there is not, however, a part of the kingdom where the mass of the people were more orderly and peaceable in the worst of times than in this city and county. But, it seems, it is necessary to keep alive this infernal spirit in these parts, to serve the electioneering purposes of one or two great men. What an affecting reflection, that a country is to be disturbed, and civil and religious feuds and discussions encouraged and promoted, to serve the private self-interested views of a few families! Surely, as Government must be interested in tranquillizing this long-distracted country, they cannot but see the necessity of extinguishing this infernal spirit, by suppressing all clubs, of whatever description, that tend to foment and support it.

When I had the honour of seeing Lord Castlereagh, he was so good as to express his intention of having the Chapel that was burnt near Bandon immediately rebuilt. I announced to the poor people of that parish his Lordship's gracious intentions. They received the news with great joy and gratitude. They must surely think I imposed on them, as nothing has been done for their relief, nor has General Myers received any orders on that business. I am not surprised that his Lordship, with the multiplicity of important matters which would press on his attention, should forget so trivial a matter. Would you, my dear sir, have the goodness to remind his Lordship of it, and, at the same time, to present my most cordial respects to him.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

H. MOYLAN.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Bayham Abbey, July 27, 1800.

Dear Castlereagh—The Bishop of Clogher has requested me to write to you upon the subject of the appropriation of the £15,000 to be given by Parliament upon the abolition of the Borough of Clogher. This sum of money is to be vested, as I understand, in the Board of First Fruits, with which Board I do not remember that Government used in my time to interfere; but, as so large a sum of money is now vested in that Board, and public purposes of a larger extent are to be engaged in, I apprehend you will take care to have some influence with them.

The Bishop has mentioned, as he informs me, some circumstances which are materially necessary in that Borough; but that on which he particularly desires me to address you is the foundation of a choir, which I heard most strenuously recommended by the King, who was assured in return, by the Bishop, that he would use his utmost efforts to accomplish it. You will oblige me very much by assisting the Bishop as much as lies in your power in this object.

Believe me, &c.,

CAMDEN.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, July 28, 1800.

My dear Lord—The general tranquillity which has for some weeks past most happily prevailed throughout every part of Ireland, with a few trivial exceptions, has not produced of late any material occurrence; and, in consequence, it has entirely precluded the necessity of any despatch to your Grace on the internal situation of affairs in this country.

I have the satisfaction also to state that the formidable banditti in the mountains of the county of Wicklow, under the noted chief Dwyer, have been broken up and dispersed; many

of them have been apprehended, and I entertain hopes that Dwyer himself will shortly be induced to surrender upon condition of transportation for life.

The partial disturbances, rather of an alarming nature, that had some time since agitated parts of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, seem at present entirely to have subsided, as well as in the county of Antrim; and, in the frequent reports which I receive from the general officers in the command of districts, there has not of recent date been any act of outrage whatsoever reported to me.

In the northern part of the province of Connaught, as well as in the western counties of Leinster, the poor have suffered considerably, and the scarcity that was almost universal would have been still more severely felt in the metropolis, if Government had not taken effectual precautions, and if humane and benevolent private subscriptions had not been made for their relief; it is, however, with peculiar pleasure I have to mention that, though the distress is still very severe and painful in particular quarters, yet, in the counties that have suffered the most, a great plenty of provisions is now stated to be brought into the markets, and, it is even said, that in Mayo and Galway they are at present overstocked, and the prices, particularly of potatoes, are most materially reduced. I am also to observe to your Grace that there is a most promising appearance of an abundant harvest.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, July 28, 1800.

My dear Lord—The Duke of Portland will write to you in the course of to-day, relative to the election of the Scotch Peers, but I do not think much information is to be received from our present mode of proceeding other than that it is more decorous than heretofore, when the Government list, with a

sort of official treasury note, was circulated among all friendly Peers with very little scruple. At the last election, if I recollect rightly, it was managed on the spot by the Duke of Buccleuch and the Lord Advocate, who were furnished with the list Government supported, and we only took care here to obtain the proxies of such absentees as they pointed out to us.

If your Lordship or any one else chooses to refer to the cases of interference, complained of in the election of Scotch Peers, they will be found in a book I send by to-night's post, with papers between the leaves referring to cases.

The Duke of Portland has not heard from Lord Rancliff,[1] although he sent him one of the blank proxies for signature the day they were received.

There is a general suspension of hostilities between France and the Emperor. There has been an action between a Danish frigate and one of ours—the cause, the former (who fired first) not allowing her convoy to be examined as usual.

Your last Bills will pass the Council to-morrow, before the King goes to the House, and will be returned in the course of the evening, with the draft of the Lord-Lieutenant's Speech, unless the latter should go with this.

I need not say that your last stating the general good appearance and hopeful disposition of Ireland gave great pleasure here.

Ever, most sincerely, &c., J. KING.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

London, Monday, July 28, 1800.

My dear Lord—A fortunate mistake will save us both some trouble. From inadvertence, I opened the letter which I send you enclosed, to which I find I have so little to add upon the subject of the election of the Peers, that it is hardly worth while to trespass at all upon your time with regard to it; and I should have been strongly inclined to have abstained from it

[1] Thomas Boothby Parkins, created, in 1795, Baron Rancliffe.

entirely, but from the desire I felt to congratulate with you on the actual state of Ireland and the composure which has already begun to take place in the public mind—a circumstance to which, notwithstanding the confidence I looked with for it, I must confess, has considerably anticipated my most sanguine expectations.

As Mr. King has informed your Lordship, the election of the Peers of Scotland is now left entirely to the management of the great and respectable friends of Government, whose names he has mentioned to you, and it is now so well understood that, as vacancies occur in the course of the Parliament, or at the general election by the disinclination of any of the Peers to Parliamentary attendance, (for it is now generally understood and considered that, unless those who have served are desirous to withdraw themselves, they are entitled to a preference) the Peers of the first respectability in point of rank, fortune, and character, are to succeed, that every idea of contest is in a manner given up, and the election is conducted with almost as little sensation as if the succession was hereditary. But that this should be the case in Ireland at the outset is certainly too much to expect. I should, however, recommend as little appearance as possible of the interposition of Government, and submit to you, if it should be practicable, that the candidates should be proposed by the Chancellor, Lords Waterford, Shannon, Ely, or your other principal friends, rather than by your Lordship or the Lord-Lieutenant in person; and, if lists are to be circulated, I should conceive that it had better and would be more unexceptionably done by the persons of the description I have pointed out than by a direct application from the Castle.

These are my ideas, and I offer them to you only because you have appeared to wish for them; because I am satisfied that you must be better informed and better judges than we can possibly be here of the best mode of conducting the election of your Peers.

I have observed, in a letter I have written to the Lord-Lieutenant, that I hope and believe that all the Bills will be returned so as to receive the Royal Assent on the first of next month. But, should any disappointment happen in that respect, you are aware that it depends upon yourselves to pass the Union Act on that auspicious day; and as for the Acts, even those which were returned, together with the Union Bill, they may, as I conceive, be withheld to any future day on which it may be agreeable to the Lord-Lieutenant to make his Speech and prorogue the Parliament—an event which I shall be particularly glad to hear has taken place, as it will authorize me to look for the pleasure of seeing you.

Believe me, ever, &c.,

PORTLAND.

I purpose going to Bulstrode on Wednesday, and I believe very few of the Ministers will be here after that time till towards the middle of next week.

Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Caledon, August 22, 1800.

My dear Lord—I have hitherto postponed writing to your Lordship on the subject of the accounts of the Barrack department, as I was unable to procure the ledger, or rather the day-book, which you had desired me to call for. Upon inquiry, it was stated to me, that the manuscript with which I was furnished by the Secretary was a correct transcript of the information that I had demanded—in short, I found so many difficulties in procuring the original documents of any kind from thence, that I abandoned altogether, for the present, the idea of investigating a subject so completely enveloped, if not in mystery, at least in irregularity.

In consequence, I confined myself to one official communication to Lord Tyrawley, to repay into the Treasury the sum of £27,000, being the balance of £40,000, which his

Lordship, as Barrack-Master-General, had drawn for the purpose of the construction of permanent barracks, when only £13,000 of this specific sum was required to be disbursed. I read my letter on this matter to Elliot before his departure for London.

Colonel Napier has made a voluminous and impartial report upon the accounts of the Barrack department, setting forth, in a very clear and comprehensive point of view, the present defective system, or rather the total want of method and principle in this extensive branch of military expenditure. He has suggested some very salutary remedies, and concludes his observations by disallowing items of charge to the amount of more than £50,000. Of course nothing will be done in this business until your Lordship's return to Dublin, unless it may be considered advisable by the War Office to demand an explanation in respect to the several points on which the disallowances are made.

I have nothing at this time further to trouble your Lordship with. I have the honour to remain, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, August 25, 1800.

My Lord—Three English mails arrived this day, and we hear of your Lordship having reached London. I have not yet had any letter from Mr. King respecting the movements of the persons mentioned some time since by him. We are in a state of perfect quiet here, with the exception of the County of Limerick. Their grievance now is the change of sentence of a man of the name of Dwyer; and we are told that they are preparing a remonstrance to the King upon the subject. If they acted rightly, less trouble would for the present keep the County quiet.

Business here is brought within a narrow compass; applications from the convicts form the chief part of it. I have

found it necessary to send some respites, but have all the judges in good humour, and I do not find a complaint, civil or military, from any of the Assizes.

A letter from Littlehales, which I received to-day, enclosed one from Pollock, written to him on the subject of the probable scarcity of provisions in the ensuing season. There are some sensible observations in this letter, and his Excellency appears to have been much struck with them. I have been desired to mention the subject to your Lordship; and, as much of Littlehales's letter applies to it, I send both to your Lordship. I hope it will not be as bad as Pollock predicts. We hear of rain falling in many parts of the country: about Dublin there has not been any. There is a letter from the Mayor of Cork, stating the distress to be very great there, and requesting that some of the corn, ordered on account of Government, should be disposed of there. On consulting with Handfield and the merchants, I found that this could be done, and it has been ordered accordingly.

I have received a letter from Lord Inchiquin, so that we can go on with the peerages in a day or two.

I had a letter last night from M'G.: it has nothing by any means material in it; neither do I learn from our other friends that any actual progress is making.

Your Lordship's, &c.,

A. MARSDEN.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, September 1, 1800.

My Lord—I ordered a packet to be ready to sail this morning; but the letter which I expected from his Excellency has not yet appeared. When it comes, it shall be despatched by Poyle.

By his Excellency's desire, I wrote to Mr. Nepean, to request that a skilful naval person might be sent over to survey the harbour of Dublin and its adjoining coast.

In a letter from Littlehales, to-day, he mentions that his Excellency wishes to re-confer with your Lordship, before he communicates to Lords Yelverton and Kilwarden his decision respecting their peerages. Some time since, I explained to his Excellency your idea upon that subject; but he has not yet acted upon it, though I continued to remind him of it. I had a good deal of conversation this morning with Lord Kilwarden, who is just returned from the Home Circuit. He gives a very favourable account of the prospect of returning quiet and industry in the country; and, as his Lordship went that circuit the last time, he is better qualified to form a judgment on this occasion.

The Treasury report shall be sent over as soon as it can be got.

Your Lordship's, &c.,
A. MARSDEN.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Athlone, September 2, 1800.

My dear Lord—I enclose, under a flying seal, my letter to the Duke of Portland, on the subject of sending reinforcements to this country, in which I think that I have stated the matter as strongly to him as I could, without using expressions of timidity or alarm.

I am so occupied with the light infantry, which is, by the by, a most efficient body of troops, and so interrupted and worried by the various plagues that always attend upon the steps of a Lord-Lieutenant, that I have no time for writing, and shall only observe, with relation to my progress, that I have every reason to think that the Counties through which I have passed are in a state of tranquillity and good humour, and that I have in all places received the kindest welcome.

I am, &c.,
CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Athlone, September 2, 1800.

My Lord—Having been informed, by Lord Castlereagh, that he has had conversations with your Grace and his Majesty's other confidential servants, on the actual situation of this country, with respect to its power of resisting a foreign invasion, and that you had expressed a readiness to submit to his Majesty any representations which I should make on that important subject, I lose no time in communicating to your Grace my thoughts on a matter which, you may easily believe, has occupied a considerable share of my attention.

I shall pass over the question of the possibility of a French force being transported to this country in the later season of the year, on which point his Majesty's naval officers will speak with more weight and authority, and shall confine myself to the present political circumstances of this country, to the number and nature of our forces, and the difficulties which we must encounter, should a body of ten to twenty thousand men land in this island.

The country is at this moment quiet, and I think there can be no doubt of its continuing in a state of tranquillity, unless the French should invade us with such an army as might afford to the disaffected a reasonable prospect of success in overturning our Government; in which event there is cause to believe that the ill disposition of a great majority of the Irish would be manifested by every act of hostility and outrage. I am persuaded that the mass of the people of Ireland may be reclaimed, but it must take time to effect this salutary change in their temper, and a very different system must be pursued from that which has hitherto been practised in the greater part of this wretched country. We must, therefore, I am afraid, at least, so long as the present war shall last, feel ourselves under the melancholy necessity of considering the majority of the Irish people as enemies, and employ a large portion of the

force, which ought to act against a foreign invader, to keep our own countrymen in subjection.

Our armed force of every description appears formidable on paper, but the yeomanry are by no means calculated to serve with an army in the field against a regular enemy; and all of those on whose loyalty we could firmly rely would be wanted to act in conjunction with other troops, to preserve order and defeat the attempts of the disaffected throughout the country. The regiments of militia and fencibles are incomplete, and have a great proportion of their effective force composed of untrained soldiers and regiments, in consequence of a draft of eleven or twelve thousand men, which they have lately given to the regiments of the line for general service; and they are, besides, very deficient in officers capable of conducting them against experienced and skilful veterans. It is proper, likewise, that I should observe, that the regular regiments have their superiority only in the description of their officers, having been lately, and some within the last month, filled up from a very reduced state by volunteers from the militia and fencibles.

Ireland, unless protected by a fleet, is exposed to attack from a great naval armament in many ports and bays, from Bantry Bay to Lough Swilly, and I have not been able to discover any defensive position in which it would be advisable to wait for an attack with such force as could be hastily collected.

From the capacity and energy which the French officers have exhibited in the course of the present war, there is no reason to suppose that they would suffer us long to avoid an action, without giving up to them so large a tract of the country as would spread general consternation among our friends, and enable the enemy to arm and organize a great body of the disaffected. The importance, therefore, of our being early in a condition to meet the enemy in the field, and the dreadful consequences of a defeat, will so forcibly strike your Grace and his Majesty's other confidential servants, that I feel it unnecessary to urge, on a supposition that the blockade of Brest

cannot be continued after the equinox with any degree of certainty, that you will earnestly recommend to his Majesty to send such part of his regular infantry to this island as can be spared without hazard to the safety of Great Britain.

I have just received intimation, by your Grace's letter dated the 26th ultimo, that the three battalions of the fourth regiment are ordered to embark for this country, to replace the brigade of Guards; and, unless any change of circumstances should remove the apprehensions of invasion, under which the former part of this letter has been written, I should strongly recommend that a further reinforcement, if possible, of five thousand infantry should be sent to us, in addition to the 21st and 28th regiments of Light Dragoons, which latter will be wanted to carry on the ordinary duties of the cavalry, when the reduction of the fencible cavalry shall be completely carried into execution.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Athlone, September 2, 1800.

My dear Lord—The letter which your Lordship did me the honour to write to me on the 25th ultimo reached me a few days ago, at Lord Hartland's, at Strokestown; and, since that period, Lord Cornwallis has received two very confidential communications from you, by Dawes, the messenger, and to which, if he does not reply at length to your Lordship relative to the important and interesting points whereon they treat, his Excellency sends open, for your perusal, under a flying seal, a secret despatch to the Duke of Portland, in reference to your communications (or such parts as more immediately require a representation of his sentiments and opinions to his Grace); in consequence, I shall confine my answer to you to a much more limited scale than would otherwise have been thought necessary.

From your knowledge of our army on paper, it seems very questionable whether the disposable reserve of 16,000 regular infantry and 10,000 cavalry are actually efficient rank and file; but, as Lord Cornwallis has confined his request at present for a reinforcement to about 5,000 infantry of the line, independent of the three battalions of the 4th or King's Own regiment of foot, intended to replace the brigade of Guards, it is not necessary to cavil upon this subject, or to make any further comment.

Lord Cornwallis most thoroughly coincides with your Lordship in your representation to the Duke of Portland, that, in case of an attack, the Militia and Yeomanry (at least, the latter) might be considered as only applicable to the police of the country and the preservation of our internal communications, and that you have formed a most judicious opinion from the returns of the forces in Ireland that, although the regular and fencible infantry exceed 26,000, yet not more than 20,000 fighting men can be reckoned on: and, with an army so scattered and dispersed over the whole face of this island, it is obvious that, without a considerable reinforcement, there are not troops in this country sufficient to oppose effectually a corps equal to that with which Hoche succeeded in approaching our coasts in the year 1796, and that a fortunate accident alone prevented him from effecting the object of his mission—a descent on this kingdom.

From the manner in which Lord Cornwallis has treated the subject, your Lordship will see that generally he has not omitted strongly to touch upon every point to which you have called his attention; and I believe you know it to have been his invariable opinion that it was a visionary and impracticable idea to blockade Brest after the equinox, and during the winter months, and he is glad to find this opinion confirmed by Lord St. Vincent.

I had almost omitted to remark that Lord Cornwallis, in his communication to his Grace, makes the outline of his general

calculation, as you will perceive, of the reinforcement that he demands, upon a supposition that the enemy's force may rather exceed that which Hoche had with him, amounting to 16,000 soldiers; but, in stating this matter confidentially, he by no means considers it conclusive, or that a much greater additional assistance of troops may not be necessary from various circumstances, of which your Lordship appears to be most properly aware, when you speak of the veteran and experienced French soldiers, in opposition to those of which we are possessed; and when you judiciously observe that this outpost of the Empire cannot be succoured with the same effect in the moment of attack.

Your Lordship will see by the tenour of the enclosed letter to the Duke of Portland, as well as what his Excellency has written on the subject himself in his secret despatch, that it will be very desirable that the 21st and 28th Light Dragoons should be sent to Ireland without delay; and, as General Nugent, who is here, states that, from the disorganized situation of the Fencible Cavalry regiments, as well as their diminution in point of strength, it may, perhaps, be proper in your Lordship to press their embarkation.

Our tour has hitherto succeeded exceeding well. The Lord-Lieutenant has visited Sir Samuel Hayes and Mr. Hamilton, of Brown Hall, in the County of Donegal, and from thence Lords Belmore[1], Rosse[2], Enniskillen[3], Mr. Wynne, Colonel Robert King, the Bishop of Elphin, and Lord Hartland.[4] His Excellency has been addressed by the corporate bodies of Sligo and Athlone, and by many respectable inhabitants and country gentlemen in Athlone, Roscommon, and their neighbourhoods.

Lord Cornwallis, in consequence of the very fine weather which we have had, (with the exception of a moderate rain for about twenty-four hours) has been enabled to see all the military features of the country through which he has passed, and

[1] Somerset, second Earl.
[2] Lawrence, second Earl.
[3] William Willoughby, first Earl.
[4] Maurice Mahon, first Baron.

examined most accurately some particular positions. He has also minutely inspected the several corps of infantry of all descriptions in the various places where they have been stationed in his journey to this town.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

PS.—The country is invariably reported to be in a state of tranquillity.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Brighton, September 10, 1800.

My dear Lord—Upon receiving your Lordship's letter of the 30th ult., I hastened to complete the summary, which the Duke of Portland some time since had requested me to transmit to him. It goes by this post, and I must beg your Lordship's acceptance of a copy.

I have furnished the Duke with an extra copy, also requesting his Grace to put it into the hand of Mr. Pitt, if he approves it, as the Speaker and Mr. Pitt had had some conversation on the measures I took the liberty to suggest with respect to the regular Clergy of the Roman Catholic Communion.

In a late conversation with my friend Pelham, he told me this: "He has no fears about a *direct* communication with the Popish Government, and that he was convinced that the Catholic Clergy of Ireland could not be well governed *without some negociation with the See of Rome.*" To the same effect I think also was your Lordship's opinion, when I had the honour to converse with you on this subject in town. I can only repeat that it would afford me infinite satisfaction if Government, at any time, should command my humble services in a line in which I flatter myself I may be able, from my long established habits, to be of some use. I am very far from wishing an established appointment at Rome; it would not suit me, but I own I should feel mortified if, after many years' devotion to this subject, my labours were superseded by the

appointment of a negociator *ad hoc*, who probably would be less qualified with respect to personal influence, to reap the credit which I had with so much pains laid the foundation of. I am persuaded that your Lordship will enter into my feelings on this subject. My situation in life puts me beyond the want or wish of pecuniary advantages to be derived from such an occupation; yet I feel a great satisfaction in concluding, under the auspices of Government, those arrangements which in substance few question but are called for by the exigency of the subject and the times.

At all times, I shall be happy to be honoured with your Lordship's commands, and consider me highly fortunate if any communication within my information can in the least tend to assist your Lordship in this *black letter* part of the great work you have already carried to so desirable a length, and which must ever fix your Lordship's character as a statesman, and justly entitle you to the best thanks of the United Kingdoms. Indeed, my Lord, you may truly exclaim, in a better sense than the poet, *Exegi monumentum*, &c.

Your Lordship will observe some doubts with respect to the operation of the English Statute, 13 Elizabeth, ch. 2, upon which so much turns agreeably to Lord Coke's construction, 4 Inst., 351, Ireland appears to be *bound* by this Statute, as "*generally included* agreeably to the distinction of Poyning's Law." I do not know whether the operation of those *general words* are done away by any subsequent Statute, or in the least invalidated.[1]

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISLEY.

This place must abound with your Lordship's acquaintance and friends. I trust it may tempt you to a visit.

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[1] I presume this must depend on the enumeration of Acts containing the Act of the 23rd of the King, which your Lordship must be familiar with, as I have no present access to it. (Note by Sir J. C. Hippisley.)

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, September 10, 1800.

My Lord,—I have still to give your Lordship a favourable report of how we are going on here. There is, I am aware, much need of vigilance and apprehension on the part of Government; but, most certainly, very little appears at present to excite immediate alarm. Dublin is tranquil, and the accounts from all parts of the country (except the nonsense of Limerick) are favourable. Since your Lordship left this, I have looked more particularly to the County of Down, and I do not think that the mischief there has increased. Mr. Hall, the Sheriff, has been in town, and I have seen him and some others several times. His object was to have a member of his corps of Yeomanry, an officer, apprehended for offences committed in the year 1797. I have sent the informations to General Drummond, and desired that he should detain by his warrant the persons whom Mr. Hall should find it necessary to apprehend.

The Lord-Lieutenant is at Mount Shannon, and will be in town on Saturday.

The two new Boards are going on with business. The Navigation Commissioners will give great satisfaction. Captain Bligh and Sir Thomas Page are both at work. But six claims have been presented to the other Board, and of these, they tell me, only one merits serious attention.

Your Lordship's, &c., A. MARSDEN.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Brighton, September 11, 1800.

My dear Lord—Since I had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship by yesterday's post the copy of the Summary of Correspondence which I prepared at the order of the Duke of Portland, I have been endeavouring to recollect the circumstances attending the declaratory Statute of 23 George III., c. 28, which *English* Statute, I conceive, (though I have no

means to resort to it here) liberated Ireland from being bound by any Acts of the British Parliament.

The enumeration to which I have alluded in the marginal note to the Appendix was, I apprehend, enacted in some contemporary *Irish* Statute. This must be familiar to your Lordship; but I cannot ascertain whether the 13th of Elizabeth, c. 2, was one of the *English* Statutes enumerated as binding upon Ireland. If it be, it strengthens my argument in favour of the repeal or modification; but, at any rate, the absurdity of such a Statute which, if a wholesome law, should be binding on *England*, and not on *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, is sufficiently apparent.

I will thank your Lordship to correct the note agreeably to the law as it now stands.

As there have appeared some productions of late highly injurious to the real tenets of the Catholics, and as none of their adversaries as I have yet seen (and I read almost every thing upon the subject) appear to have entered into the controversy with any candour, I will beg to recommend to your Lordship Mr. Milner's *Letters to a Prebendary*, Dr. Sturges, lately published. It is a thin quarto, and has a just title to become a library book.

In many respects, Mr. Milner is the advocate of the Church of England against some of her fashionable Reformers, and the argument is supported by a depth of reasoning and a knowledge that I am persuaded will afford great entertainment to your Lordship. In no work has the Catholic subject been so ably treated. I have the honour to be, &c.

J. C. HIPPISLEY.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, September 17, 1800.

My Lord—I have latterly not been very regular in writing to your Lordship; but nothing material has occurred to require it.

By the steps which his Excellency took while in Limerick, there is a prospect of quiet being restored in that quarter. The gentlemen have assembled, and are determined to exert themselves, and the Courts-martial are to be made more efficacious.

The high price of bread, though it does not occasion mobs, produces great grumbling here. Grain has fallen considerably, but flour still keeps up, and will do so till we have rain. I keep the Lord Mayor and some of the merchants busy in holding meetings and publishing what may help to keep the people in good humour. The abundance of the corn harvest is everywhere admitted; and, though the potatoes are deficient, the accounts respecting them are more favourable than they were, particularly from the South.

His Excellency is still persuaded of the necessity of procuring a supply of Indian corn. The merchants who were employed to import corn have given notice that 5,000 tierces of rice are on their way from America, while 2,000 remain here unsold, as it has gone off heavily in the greatest scarcity. They recommend that it should be sent to England to be sold; but his Excellency has decided that this should not be done, until it be well considered how it could be disposed of here. I send your Lordship a copy of the paper given in by the merchants. The bounty in England makes the price to the seller thirty-five shillings; the market price is only about twenty-two. If it be sent to England, the Government there should first be informed of it.

We still continue quiet here, and no appearance of a change. I do not find that the most suspicious have alarms.

Your Lordship's very faithful, &c.,

A. MARSDEN.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Brighton, September 23, 1800.

My dear Lord—Your Lordship will probably recollect that, in the correspondence with Lord Hobart, Dr. Troy is repre-

sented as expressing a desire to be informed "whether the English Roman Catholic Clergy were friendly to the idea of a Government provision," and that certain persons affected, on the authority of Rome, to assert that the Pope certainly would disapprove such provision, as making the clergy of the Roman Catholic communion dependent upon our Government.

To this point I beg to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter from the Pro-Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, written in the name of the Pope (who reads all letters from the Congregation) and of the Congregation itself, consisting of twenty-one Cardinals. Though dated in July, it arrived only by the last mail, and your Lordship will observe that the sentiments expressed in this official document are strongly in favour of such provision—"*un onesta provisione.*"

Monsignore Consalvi (I perceive by the papers) is raised to the Cardinalate and appointed Secretary of State. He is a very gentlemanly, liberal man, and I have been on intimate habits with him for many years.

I have the honour to be, &c., J. C. HIPPISLEY.

I enclose also a copy of a letter from the Cardinal of York, the original of which I sent to the Chancellor at Weymouth, who may probably communicate it to his Majesty.

Roma, 26 Juglio, 1800.

Illustrissimo Signore—Da Monsignore Moylan Vescovo di Cork in Irlanda, il quale hà costi goduto l'onore di trattare con V. S. Illmà e con i degni Ministri di sua Maestà Brittannica sopra gli affari dei nostri Cattolici, sono stato ragguagliato di quanto Ella siasi impegnata a proteggerli, e come scali ben'anche riuscito di ottenere *un'onesta provisione* per i Vicari Apostolici, e Clero Cattolico di Scozia: opera tutta del suo grande Animo e zelo senza pari, degno perciò dei piu vivi ringraziamenti. Il Santo Padre, questa Sacra Congregazione, ed Io che vi presiedo in qualità di Pro-Prefetto ce ne mostriamo tutti sensibilissimi: ondè che pregandola in comun

nome a continuarne anche inappresso la protezione; ed esibendoci pronti a poterle corrispondere per si segnalati favori in qualunque incontro di suoi desideri, di vero cuore me le offero, e resto.

Di V. S. Illma Servitore,

S. Cardinale BORGIA Pro-Prefetto.
CESARE, Arcivescovo di Nisibi.[1]

Sigre Cavre Hippisley, Londra.

[A true copy. J. C. HIPPISLEY.]

The Cardinal of York to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

(Received 12th September.) Frascati, July 6, 1800.

My dear Sir John—I received your most obliging and cordial letter of the 18th of April, and remark with comfort the very kind interest you take in my present personal situation, which, I am sorry to be obliged to confess to you with freedom, is more distressful actually than it was several months ago, for, whilst I was, as one may say, with truth, a downright *vagabond*, I could, in certain cases, restrain myself, in compensation of the incredible cost that attended certain journeys, rendered indispensable and grievous in the present state of things. I arrived here, with a very sore heart, the 25th of last month, and, alas! I was obliged to be minutely informed of the total devastation of all my residences both at Rome and Frascati; and the necessary and indispensable reparations to render possible a decent and sure lodging have amounted to a considerable sum, and it is but too certain that I have not at present the least hopes to be able to recover any thing that may put me in a situation to deliver me from positive indigence. Imagine the sense of gratitude that is renewed in my heart, reflecting what it would have been, if I had been deprived of the liberality that I am to receive in the present month of

[1] Monsignor Brancadoro, late Nuncio at Brussels, now Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda. (Note of Sir J. C. Hippisley.)

July for the second period; and it is not improper to remark that the incredible devastations that those enemies of humanity have committed in a degree, that it affects any good heart, when obliged to contemplate such excessive misery, without being able to relieve the distressed in a manner suitable to their wants. You will easily conceive, with your extreme goodness of heart, that it would be very necessary for the quiet of my mind to procure that the subventions I have hitherto received in January and July may be settled in such a manner that, at a call, I may draw freely on some banker at those two terms. I am obliged to confess to you that the putting in doubt a continuation of what my past dismal situation required for my relief, seems an injurious diffidence towards a generous benefactor. But, as I write to you with great freedom, and that you are too well apprised of my sentiments, you will be able to justify my intentions, and that they have no other scope but in reality to quiet my mind with some kind of arrangement that may serve me as a rule with regard to what I can depend upon in the present circumstances, whereas, my arrival and settlement anew in this country oblige me by force to a more expensive treatment.

Dear Sir, I am all yours,
and your best of friends,
HENRY, Cardinal.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Wildernesse, September 26, 1800.

Dear Castlereagh—I am unwilling to make any proposition which shall take you away from the painful scene you are now attending, but if you think you can leave it with comfort to yourself or to them, we shall be delighted to see you, and if you come down on Sunday, you will meet Lord Chatham and Lord Euston, and probably Mr. Pitt, and I will carry you back in time for the Cabinet on Tuesday. Mr. Pitt will probably take an opportunity before you go to speak to you on

the subject of your office of Keeper of the Signet. He feels that he can talk to you upon its relinquishment in no other manner than by making your present office as permanent as his Administration. The view that he has upon the office of Keeper of the Signet is to provide for Pelham. I apprize you of this probable conversation, that you may prepare yourself accordingly, leaving to your own consideration and reflexion the part you will take in it.

I apprized Mr. Pitt of the necessity of writing such a letter to Lord Cornwallis as should persuade him of the real wish of the English Government that he should remain in Ireland, and he told me he would speak to the Duke of Portland, who, he doubted not, would write to him in such manner as would be most likely to induce him to stay there with comfort to himself. Most affectionately yours, CAMDEN.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Camden.

Private. London, September 27, 1800.

My dear Lord—I should very much wish to accept your invitation, but, under all the circumstances of this family, I am induced to remain in town. My brother is very low to-day.

If Mr. Pitt speaks to me on the subject of my office of Keeper of the Signet, I can have no hesitation in placing it at his disposal, and shall be peculiarly happy if it can prove any accommodation to him in providing for a person for whom we are all so much interested. You know my feeling has always been that I only retained that office from a consideration that my situation of Chief Secretary was altogether personal to the Lord-Lieutenant for the time being. Under any other view of the question, I should have long since pressed that the Privy Seal should be made auxiliary to the arrangements of Government; as I feel that pluralities do not become a young politician, and am perfectly satisfied with the income of my other office, though hitherto the expences of the situation have disposed both of that and what I derive from Lord Londonderry.

In the event of Mr. Pelham succeeding to the Privy Seal, I should wish the appointment of Secretary of State for Ireland, which he has retained, to be connected with the office of Chief Secretary, as it was when he filled my situation.

I am very glad you mentioned to Mr. Pitt the expediency of putting Lord Cornwallis's feelings quite at ease. It was my intention to take the liberty of expressing myself to him without reserve on this subject before my return; as I am sure he will feel the importance to all parties (if Lord Cornwallis is to remain) of cordiality pervading that branch of his Administration.

If pleasanter prospects should enable me to leave town, you know how much pleasure I shall have in joining your party.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Rev. Dr. Bankhead to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Lurgan, October 8, 1800.

My Lord—We, the Ministers and Elders of the General Synod of Ulster, regularly convened for the purpose of taking into consideration the Report of our Commissioners who were appointed to communicate with your Lordship relative to the intention of Government of making a further provision for the Ministers of this body, cheerfully embrace this opportunity of conveying to your Lordship our sincere and warm acknowledgments for your Lordship's persevering attention to our interests.

At the same time, we beg leave to assure your Lordship that it is the anxious desire of this body, clearly ascertained in a meeting unusually full, and particularly distinguished by the number and respectability of Elders, that whatever addition the wisdom and liberality of Government shall be pleased to make to the present bounty, may be conferred on terms similar to those on which former grants have been enjoyed.

And from your Lordship's knowledge of the principles of Presbyterians, we rely with firmest confidence that your Lordship will use your most active exertions in promoting our wishes.

We appoint our Moderator and George Birch, Esq. to present this letter, and confer with your Lordship on the subject.

Signed in our name, and by our appointment,

JOHN BANKHEAD, Moderator.

Answer of Lord Castlereagh.

Sir—I have received the letter which you were desired to communicate to me written by the Synod of Ulster, wherein they state that it is the anxious wish, &c., &c., &c.

I request the Synod may be assured of my full confidence in the principles of the Presbyterians, and of my cordial disposition to forward their wishes as far as I shall be consistently enabled. But, as I know that it is the great object of his Majesty's Ministers to draw the connexion of the Presbyterian body to the constitution as close as circumstances will permit, I should hope the Synod will not think themselves called upon to persevere in the sentiments they have adopted, but that they will cheerfully give their concurrence to such regulations as the wisdom of Government and the Legislature shall adopt for augmenting the maintenance of their clergy, and at the same time securing their loyalty to the Government, and increasing their connexion with the constitution.

The Rev. John Sherrard to Lord Castlereagh.

Lamb's Island, October 13, 1800.

My Lord—I must accuse myself of unpardonable neglect, did I not embrace the earliest opportunity of expressing the grateful sense I have of your Lordship's kind intentions respecting the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Ulster, and the pleasure I feel from the consideration of the happy effects such a wise measure, as well as friendly office may, and, I trust, will certainly produce.

A whole age, my Lord, nay, several ages, might pass away, before a nobleman might fill your Lordship's elevated station, so well acquainted with the constitution of the Dissenting Church, the principles of her members, and the situation and circumstances of her ministers. And, from your Lordship's very great influence with the present Government, our interests cannot fail of being effectually promoted.

I should stop here—but I hope and trust, my Lord, that a few additional observations, coming from one, who, your Lordship's candour will readily admit, must be deeply interested in whatever affects the prosperity and honour of the Dissenting Church—more especially on a subject upon which her very existence depends—will not offend your Lordship.

I am happy to hear, my Lord, that no infringement on the religious rights of the people is intended by Government in their favours to us; but it is said that higher or lower shares are to be made a condition of the proposed grant. Now, my Lord, if this be true, it will, beyond all doubt, produce very hurtful consequences, both with respect to us, and the end which, I humbly conceive, Government proposes to serve by it.

It will effectually destroy that equality among Dissenting Ministers, which constitutes one of the leading features of the Dissenting Church, of which your Lordship well knows Dissenters are so tenacious, and consequently put an end to that friendly intercourse and brotherly affection, which have hitherto reflected both honour upon themselves, and done signal service to the religion they profess and preach to others. It will also, I apprehend, in a great measure, defeat the wise end proposed by Government.

The highest, and, I should think, the wisest political end Government could have in view, must be to conciliate both Ministers and people, and to attach them to that Government not only by their munificence, but by their liberality of sentiment in conferring their favour. If this, then, be the view of Government, permit me, my Lord, humbly to assure your

Lordship that, whatever reports to the contrary may have reached your Lordship's ear, nothing could accomplish this end so effectually as granting the intended addition upon the very same terms as our bounty has hitherto been granted.

At a late, and one of the fullest Synodical meetings I ever attended, where our congregations were nearly all represented by their Elders, this was the unanimous wish of both Ministers and people. Besides, my Lord, as the gentlemen placed in our great towns are not most distinguished for talents and learning among us, so neither have they as much labour in the discharge of their duties as those placed in wide extended country congregations, and yet they have double their salaries. Now, my Lord, it must hurt the feelings and the honest pride, as well as the interests of men of at least equal talents, who have double the duties to discharge, and more than the half less stipend, to see the former, notwithstanding, receiving perhaps a double portion of the Royal Bounty. For these and many other reasons, my Lord, that might be adduced, should Government ever have entertained some slight thoughts of such a distribution, as it can be a matter of no great consequence to them, I sincerely hope and trust your Lordship will study and employ your influence to do it away.

Be assured, my Lord, that what I have now said proceeds from the purest wish of my heart to attach the whole body of Dissenters most affectionately to that civil Government under which they live and enjoy many signal blessings and privileges; and I hope, from your Lordship's friendship and eminent station, they will still enjoy many more; and to see or hear of your Lordship's freeing them from the disabilities of holding civil offices under Government, to which they have long patiently submitted, and to which, I will venture to say, many of them are as well entitled as any other denomination of his Majesty's subjects; for it would tend to brighten and cheer the closing evening of my life.

And while, my Lord, you rejoice in the days of your youth,

are blessed with health, and have it so much in your power to do good, that it may be the study and care of your life to employ your time and talents in such a manner as may afford you true, solid, and substantial pleasure when all earthly grandeur shall fade away, is the sincere wish and prayer of

Your Lordship's most respectful, &c.

JOHN SHERRARD.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

October 23.

My Lord—It will be necessary to issue some Proclamation respecting the export, &c., of grain, as all the former ones expired on the 29th of September. The merchants are, I understand, shipping rice. I have written to Geale not to sell rice at 25*s.*, for the purpose of being exported, until he hears further from Government. One merchant has been here, to propose buying a large quantity at 25*s.*, to send to London.

The loan to the merchants will expire in the next month, it not having been renewed in the last Session. This occasions some alarm, and Beresford and others have been with me several times about it. I put them off until your Lordship's return. I believe it will be necessary, by a letter from you, to sanction its continuance for six months longer.

I send you a letter received to-day from one of our look-outs.

Seven Trustees for the Circular Road are to be appointed.

Yours, very faithfully,

A. MARSDEN.

October 22, 1800.

My silence has not proceeded from the slightest negligence: on the contrary, the most sedulous attention has been paid to business. The result is this assurance, that it is determined, as I before informed you, that conduct the most peaceable will be adhered to; that no meeting or conversation that can give rise to suspicion shall be held; that the sole dependence is on

assistance, which assistance is looked to as certain and not far off.

The news of last week has considerably increased the hopes of the party. They now consider peace with France impossible, and look to the attempt at a descent as immediate. In Dublin, I am convinced not a man would stir till the enemy were in the very capital—at least, that is the resolution.

J. W.

Mr. George Birch to Lord Castlereagh.

Ballyheen, October 23, 1800.

My Lord—I beg leave to congratulate your Lordship on your safe arrival in Dublin, and sincerely hope you left Lord Londonderry perfectly well, and that there are still hopes of your brother's recovery.

We have lately had a meeting of the Synod of Ulster, unusually full, and particularly distinguished for the numbers and respectability of the Elders, to take into consideration the report of the Commissioners nominated to communicate with your Lordship relative to the intention of Government making a further provision for the Ministers of that body. It was their anxious wish and desire that whatever addition the wisdom and liberality of Government might be pleased to make to the present Bounty might be conferred on terms similar to those on which former grants were enjoyed. The Presbyterian body have the fullest confidence in your Lordship, and rely on your giving them your support in obtaining that much wished-for object.

Two days previous to the meeting, I was informed that Dr. Little's character and conduct was to be arraigned by Dr. Black, and I attended to prevent it, and use my best endeavours to keep peace, and promote harmony in the Synod; but, unfortunately, the breaking down of my carriage prevented me from arriving in time; and, after the reports of the Commissioners were received, that ill-timed supplement of Black's

was read, notwithstanding every exertion of mine to prevent it. Dr. Little declared it was false, and fabricated to ruin his character, and appealed to Dr. Bankhead, who declared in favour of Little. After such things passing, I moved an adjournment, which was carried, and we met the next day, and dissolved the commission, and agreed to address your Lordship, and Mr. Bankhead and I were appointed to deliver it. This sketch of the Synod's proceedings I thought it my duty privately to communicate.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

GEORGE BIRCH.

Lord Castlereagh to Dr. Black.

Private. Phœnix Park, October 24.

My dear Sir—I lament the temper that seems to prevail amoung your brethren, principally because it produces much temporary discomfort to you and others of our friends among the body. I also lament it, as I think it will render the measure less advantageous in itself, at least, for some time, in connecting the Dissenters with the State. In respect to the detail of the arrangement, it can make no alteration, as the principle on which your opponents found their opinions is little likely to make any impression on the minds of Ministers. So far from operating as an inducement with them to dispense with precautions, their sentiments are calculated to inspire additional caution.

I have received your communication, acquainting me that I am to be honoured with a visit from you and Dr. Birch when I go to the North.

I have now to request that you will furnish me with a correct statement of the several Dissenting congregations, the number of hearers, and the amount of stipend. If I recollect right, this return was called for at the last Synod. I should also wish to have a statement of the discipline and government of the Prebyterian Church in Ireland, with such other

materials as appear to you calculated to throw light on this subject.

I hope to be at Mount Stewart early in the next month. If business should lead you into that part of the world, while I am there, it will afford me pleasure to see you.

Believe me, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. November 3, 1800.

My dear Lord—His Majesty's declaration under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that the members of the two Houses of Parliament here are to continue members of the United Parliament, on the part of Great Britain, will pass on Wednesday, and will be inserted in our Gazette of the Saturday following, on which day, I hope I shall be able to send your Lordship, to be submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant, a draft of the instrument to be passed under the Great Seal of Ireland, announcing the time of meeting to ballot for the Irish members, &c. pursuant to the Act.

Although you cannot assist us in our extremity, it is a great deal to learn that we have only ourselves to feed. It will be a troublesome and irksome business, but I think we shall work through it, notwithstanding.

Believe me, &c.,

J. KING.

There was an idea that there should be fifty days, from the date of your balloting, if not from the 1st of January, previous to the meeting of the United Parliament; but the better opinion seems to be otherwise, and that, as fifty days was mentioned in the Scotch Act of Union, and omitted to be mentioned in our Union Act, it, in a more particular manner, leaves it open to the prerogative to fix any earlier day, which I suppose is likely to be about the 22d of January next.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, November 18, 1800.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—The Lord-Lieutenant has desired me to detain the messenger, for the purpose of informing you that he has received a letter from Mr. Dundas, in which he mentions that the intention of sending an army to Portugal is relinquished, and that the 5,000 troops under Sir James Pulteney are ordered to return to England. Mr. Dundas, however, states that it may be necessary to retain a considerable force in England during the winter, to secure the tranquillity of the country, and that, as foreign troops cannot be applied to that purpose, it would be a great accommodation to the English Government if Lord Cornwallis would accept 5,000 Dutch troops; in consequence of which representation, Lord Cornwallis has acquiesced in the request. As his Lordship is overwhelmed with visitors in his audience room, I have not yet seen Dundas's despatch.

Cooke has been requested by Lord Cornwallis to write to you on the case of Brigade-Major Uniacke, who has been attached by the Court of King's Bench for contempt of its process. Lest Cooke should not have leisure to give you the detail of this subject before the departure of the messenger, Lord Cornwallis wishes me to transmit to you Marsden's memorandum of the particulars of it. I am persuaded you will concur with Lord Cornwallis in thinking it would have been great indiscretion in him to have involved himself in a hostile proceeding against the Court of King's Bench on such grounds. The Chancellor has been very furious in his language, but, I am told, is cooling. His application for the Lord-Lieutenant's interference is one of the many instances of the complete subservience of his judgment to his temper. Cooke's opinion is entirely in unison with Lord Cornwallis's decision.

I am writing under perpetual interruption, and have only time to add that I am ever most truly yours,

W. ELLIOT.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, November 18, 1800.

My dear Lord—Lord Cornwallis has ordered 6,000 tons. Cullanan is to be excluded, having done nothing—the old firm, 4,000—Anderson, 1,000—Turnley, 1,000.—The proposal for buying in the 5,000 tons was, that the Commission should not exceed £2,500—it was limited to £5,000 last year, and so in proportion. The half is taken, which is more than 2½ per cent., but not much.

Marsden has drawn a statement of an Attachment case, which Elliot sends. The King's Bench played the popular, and, I believe, acted irregularly. The Chancellor, having advised the proceeding in the country, was fit to be tied. He prepared a general pardon for all parties concerned, and wished Lord Cornwallis to sign it. His Excellency most prudently declines to embroil himself with the King's Bench; and I think, if he were to do what the Chancellor wishes, both would be in a scrape. We shall hope to moderate the Chancellor and smooth the King's Bench, and patch up the matter.

I have no news from England—little here.

Most truly yours, &c.,

E. COOKE.

A man of the name of Frawley was convicted in May last by two magistrates of the County of Limerick, and sentenced to be transported, under the Insurrection Act. On the evening previous to his being sent to New Geneva, a writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to the gaoler of Limerick, was received by him, but at the time Frawley was not in his custody, but had been transferred to the Provost's, and orders had previously been given to send him, together with

several others, at five o'clock the next morning, on their way to New Geneva.

Late in the night, the gaoler communicated to Major Uniacke, the Brigade-Major of Limerick, and also a magistrate, his having received such a writ; but, as the Major did not conceive that he was bound to interpose, he suffered the prisoners to depart the next morning. The friends of Frawley, finding that the writ sent to Limerick did not produce effect, immediately procured two other writs, one to New Geneva, the other to Duncannon Fort, for the purpose of meeting Frawley on his arrival there. Major Uniacke apprehended that his suffering the prisoner to depart might subject him to the displeasure of the King's Bench, sent after Frawley, and had him brought back to Limerick and committed again to prison.

For this proceeding, an application was made in the King's Bench for an Attachment against Major Uniacke, grounded on the affidavit of Frawley, alleging that these steps were taken to defeat the process of the Court, and to withdraw the prisoner from the reach of its writ. Major Uniacke, by his affidavit, denied this charge, and alleged his intention to have been as above stated.

Shortly after Frawley's return to Limerick, it was discovered that his conviction had not been regular, and he was again tried at a Petty Sessions, at which Major Uniacke acted as a magistrate, on a charge of having declared that he would join in murdering Protestants, Stags, &c. (I believe the prisoner confessed to the charge). He was sentenced by the Petty Sessions to transportation; but, on appealing to the General Sessions and giving security, he was enlarged. When the General Sessions met, they found that all the proceedings had been removed by *certiorari* to the Court of King's Bench, where they now are.

The Attachment stood over from June to Michaelmas Term, and, on the 15th of November, the King's Bench attached

Major Uniacke, three of the Judges giving their opinion *seriatim*; but the Attachment has not yet issued.

The King's Bench, having attached Major Uniacke for interfering to prevent the execution of their process, it being conceived by the Chancellor that such a proceeding would very much discontent the magistrates of Limerick, of whom Major Uniacke was one, his Lordship recommended to the Lord-Lieutenant to pardon Major Uniacke and several other magistrates who had presided at the Petty Sessions, and who were also likely to come under the censure of the Court. His Lordship prepared the form of a pardon for this purpose, upon which, if his Excellency approved of it, a warrant was to be drawn.

The Lord-Lieutenant was pleased to decline to order the warrant to be prepared, on the ground that the case was such a one as was completely within the jurisdiction and cognizance of the King's Bench. Major Uniacke had not acted under the orders of his Excellency, nor was the conviction before a Court Martial; for, in either case, the powers given by the Rebellion Act would have enabled his Excellency to send a certificate to the Court to stop their proceeding. Major Uniacke's conduct as a magistrate or private individual was a subject for the consideration of the Court, and his Excellency did not know of any instance in which the Government had interposed, while the Court of King's Bench was considering of the means of enforcing their process. It was of the utmost importance to preserve the greatest harmony and good-humour between the Government and the Court of King's Bench, the individuals of which Court are men highly distinguished in their situations. But his Excellency was of opinion that, if the punishment to be hereafter inflicted by the Court should be excessive, or such as, in his judgment, the offence did not warrant, he ought to have no scruple in interposing the power of Government to mitigate that punishment.

This determination of his Excellency has been communicated to the Chancellor, and, a conversation having taken place between the Chancellor and one of the lawyers concerned in the cause, it appears that the proceedings against Major Uniacke may be settled so as to stand over till the next term.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

November, 1800.

My Lord—The paper, dated October 5, 1799, is so full on the subject on which your Lordship has taken such indefatigable pains to gain every necessary information, that, were it not for your Lordship's injunctions, I should think I abused your time by offering you any opinions of mine, or any of the particulars into which the very sensible and well-informed writer of that letter has entered. It certainly is a subject to which I have given much attention for many years. So early as the year 1782, I entertained the idea of the policy and necessity of making an established provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy, that would make them independent of their people. I necessarily connected this measure with that of bringing their Bishops more in contact with the Government, and giving the Castle an interference and influence in their appointment. I had several conversations on the subject with Dr. Marky, at that time Superior of the Irish Community (as it is called) at Paris, but on a visit in Ireland, and with Dr. Plunkett, who was then, and is now, Titular Bishop of Meath; and the Duke of Portland revolved it often in his mind. I did not at that time find many to agree with me; but I see with much satisfaction that there is now scarcely a difference of opinion either on the policy or practicability of such a measure, and I am particularly gratified in finding that most of my original ideas coincide with those of the letter to which I have already alluded.

With respect to Sir John Coxe Hippisley, he seems to be

perfectly well informed on the different subjects on which he touches in his letters, as far as the information he could collect in Rome could enable him to form a judgment. But, of many local circumstances and domestic considerations, a knowledge of which is essential to give his Majesty's ministers a full and comprehensive view of the question in all its bearings, he seems to have had no information but from Dr. Troy and the other Roman Catholic Bishops, or from their agents at Rome; and such information ought, in my opinion, to be received in the whole of this transaction with much caution. I will, with your Lordship's leave, take up the letter of the 5th of October, and follow the writer of it through the several heads.

I perfectly agree with him (and, indeed, I conclude that it has been so determined) that the whole of this business must be transacted by a direct negotiation with the Court of Rome. Besides that, the Roman Catholic Bishops, independent of every other consideration, would necessarily wish to have this sanction for their proceedings to offer to the Roman Catholics, whose jealousy and suspicion, on the matter of their establishment, they seem very much to dread, the authoritative and official consent of the See of Rome, and its being a public party to this concordatum, as I shall call it, will be essential to its permanency. For, even if we could suppose that the Roman Catholic Bishops would take a step in the business without the consent and approbation of the Pope, yet their agreement with the Government might be disavowed by their successors, and the whole question thrown again afloat. The whole should, therefore, be arranged by a formal, authorized, and registered compact between the Crown and the Pope, in a manner similar to that which was followed in settling the Concordatum in the time of Francis the First, and of Henry the Fourth, of France. It were to be wished that this had been attempted during the reign of the late Pontiff. I need not tell your Lordship what facilities you would have met with in settling this important question to your satisfaction, as well

from the character and disposition of the Pope as from the circumstances of that day, which are now very much changed. I do not suppose that it would be in contemplation to send an authorized agent to Rome for that purpose. Monsignor Erskine, if he were not so much in Hussey's hands, as I know him to be, might receive full powers to settle all the points in London.

In a letter, with which I took the liberty of troubling your Lordship, respecting the establishment at Maynooth, previous to the passing the last Act of the Chancellor's, I ventured to express my entire approbation of the observations of the letter-writer on the subject of the foreign Seminaries. The appointment of National Superiors to those Seminaries can be no security against the dangers which the appointment of the College of Maynooth was designed to prevent.

In France, Spain, and the Low Countries, the Superiors of the different Seminaries for the English, Scotch, and Irish Missions, as they expressed it, were always natives of those kingdoms; but they were persons exactly of the description which Government must ever consider as disqualified for such situations—persons exclusively devoted to the See of Rome, educated in all the principles, and therefore certain to inculcate and teach all the principles that militate most against the civil authority in every country, and particularly tainted with all the prejudices against our establishment and our constitution, which an education in countries hostile to both cannot fail to inspire. But, in addition to this consideration, I shall beg leave to recall to your Lordship's attention what I suggested to you relative to the parties and factions, which a continuance of those Seminaries abroad and a permission of having Romish Clergymen still educated in them for the Missions of Ireland must necessarily produce. The foreign Priest will not fail to represent the Maynooth Priest as half a heretic, as a Government instead of a Roman Priest, and as well in the probability of such jealousies and such representations as in

the likelihood of the foreigners standing best with the people and having the greatest influence with them, one of their own Bishops, to whom I mentioned all this, agreed with me. I would, therefore, put an extinguisher on these foreign Seminaries and places of education for the Mission of Ireland. I would stipulate that not only to be qualified to hold any curacy or any higher situation in the Roman Catholic Church, it should be essential to have been educated from the very first, and altogether, in the College of Maynooth, but that this qualification should be essential towards being admitted to orders in the same way as, according to the regulation to which the letter refers, to be graduated in Trinity College, or at Cambridge, or Oxford, is essential to being admitted to Holy Orders amongst us.

It is obvious that a reasonable period must be allowed before these regulations can take place, as it is also obvious that provision must be made, according to the original plan and intention, for the supply of the entire mission of Ireland; and Government has been already supplied with a calculation of what that number should be. The large estate left by Lord Dunboyne would greatly ease the country in providing for this number; and I make no doubt but many similar legacies will be left for the support of that College, if the Government should not think fit to check this zeal. I once suggested to your Lordship an idea of applying to the different powers in whose territories these foreign seminaries have been established, who may be on good terms with our Crown, for their making over to this College the funds left by English subjects for the support of these establishments. I will just add, on this head, that a power might be given to this College to grant Divinity degrees, and that a Doctor's degree in it should, in a reasonable period, be an essential qualification for their bishoprics. Great precautions should be taken against any doctrines being taught in the College that might militate against or undermine the establishment, or the constitution and government of the

country. To this effect they cannot object to the regulations of the University of Paris, and the Sorbonne under the old regime, when the Court and Parliament were particularly jealous and watchful on this head. No public course of theology should be taught, and no divinity thesis held, without being first signed by the Professor, and sent to the principal Secretary's Office, to be thence referred to a Censor, a Roman Catholic of their own College and in orders, but who must be particularly appointed by and answerable to the Government, that he may give his fiat. This I should strongly press upon your Lordship's consideration, and that every thing under this head of the College should be matter of arrangement and compact with the See of Rome:

The next head of this letter is the appointment to parishes and curacies, in which I differ a little from the writer. I would leave these appointments as they now are in the Bishop of each diocese, without any interference of the Government, and with no other reserve than that none should be so appointed, or receive institution, but who came under the regulations recommended under the last head of education at Maynooth, and who should bring testimonials of moral conduct and loyalty from the heads of that College, to be registered on their College books, and who should subscribe the Roman Catholic oath of allegiance on a roll kept for that purpose by every Bishop, as is the rule with us. Lists of persons so appointed, specifying the name and the parish, should be returned monthly to the Secretary's Office, signed by the Roman Catholic Bishop, and they should be registered at the Quarter Sessions of the County in which the diocese is situated. The exclusion of Regulars from all parochial situations and employments, as recommended by the letter, I consider as indispensably necessary; and there will be no difficulty in getting this so arranged, notwithstanding Doctor Troy's being sworn to his order, if Government are firm in pressing it.

The writer proceeds to consider the stipends proposed to be

allowed to the different classes of the Roman Catholic Clergy; and he alludes to the paper endorsed, "Sketch of an Establishment," &c. Here I beg leave to differ a little, as well from the letter as from the marginal observations in that sketch, which, I perceive, are by the late Primate. In classing the Roman Catholic Clergy for this purpose, I should specify only Bishops and Parish Priests, and in this I am supported by the opinion of one of their own Bishops.'

Their Dignitaries, such as Deans, Vicars-General, and Prebends, are always selected from the Parochial Clergy, who continue in their parishes, notwithstanding their promotion, as appears by Dr. Troy's answers to the queries. I should wish to see this method persevered in, and the establishment for the parish of which every such dignitary continues possessed will be considered as sufficient for his maintenance. One great advantage that would result from this is that, having but two classes, that of Prelates and Parish Priests, to provide for, you may increase the salaries of the latter at probably a less expense to the Government than is supposed in this sketch, by throwing into their part of the fund the gross amount of the £100 to £150 proposed for each of those Dignitaries. They have, I think, twenty-six dioceses; the salaries for the Dean and Vicar for every diocese, at £150 each, would be £7,800, without taking in the Prebends, which class would require at least £1,500 more.

The allowance proposed by the sketch for the Archbishops and Bishops is ample. I can see no necessity for making any distinction between either the Archiepiscopal or the Episcopal Sees, but would wish to see the £500 given to each of the Archishops, and the three to each of the Bishops. The prospect of promotion to the Archbishopric will be a sufficient stimulus to the Suffragans to recommend themselves to the Government; and I do not think that less than £300 is a competent provision for their Bishops, while I think that more would be superfluous.

The allowance proposed in the sketch for the Parish Priests is, to my apprehension, by no means sufficient. It can answer no one object which the measure has in view. It will neither content the Priest, nor make him independent of his parishioners, nor can the Government, in consideration of such a sum, preclude the Priests from exacting money, as they now do for their maintenance, which I take to be an *essential* regulation. I have taken much pains to obtain information on this subject, and I will beg leave to lay before your Lordship what I think would at once satisfy the Roman Catholic Clergy, and secure the object of Government.

Nothing can be more obvious than the policy of having a gradual scale of preferment, as proposed in the 8th Section of the sketch; I would, therefore, venture to recommend that the stipend should be annexed to the *parish*, and that it should not exceed £180, nor be less than £40 or £50 for each. In order to apportion these stipends to the different parishes, the Roman Catholic Bishop in every diocese must be previously consulted as to their present proportionate value, and to fix and class the gradation. I have already given my opinion on the expediency of leaving the presentation to the parishes, as it now is, in the Roman Catholic Bishops; they will be more within the inspection and under the control of the Government; it is so far from being dangerous, that it must be advantageous for Government to give them all possible weight and influence with their Clergy; and, having thus the power of promoting them to better benefices, their Clergy will of course labour the more strenuously to recommend themselves to them by their strict discipline, their moral conduct, and their loyalty. They should also have the power, as now, of *depriving* them, but under the special reservation that they should certify to the Government the causes of deprivation, and receive its consent before they can proceed to it. Government should also reserve to itself the power of withdrawing the stipend from any parish, against the possessor of which any suspicion of disloyalty and

disaffection or danger to the Establishment or the State should lie, unless his Bishop proceed immediately to the deprivation. I have already stated the qualifications which appear to me to be necessary to every such presentation, and the steps to be taken on institution.

From every information I have been able to collect, the most unexceptionable mode of nominating to the vacant Sees will be that, on the vacancy of every See, the Roman Catholic Bishops of the province and their Metropolitan shall give in to the Government the names of three Parochial Clergymen, whom they think fit for the succession, and for whose characters and loyalty they make themselves responsible; that out of those three the Government shall select one who shall be placed at the head of the list, to be recommended by the Metropolitan and the Bishops to the Pope, as the person most acceptable to the Government; and that, if the Pope refuses the *formulary of collation*, as Sir John Coxe Hippisley terms it, or *canonical institution*, as Dr. Troy calls it, to that person, the Government may withhold the stipend annexed to that particular diocese. This, I should think, would be an effectual security to the Government to have its choice approved, at the same time that it does not give a Protestant Prince any actual positive nomination to a Roman Catholic bishopric, which is what they affect to scruple, although, in reality, they are only struggling for the Pope's power. Should this not be deemed sufficient for the proper interference and control of the Government, the Pope might be further bound to give canonical institution to *one* of the *three*, under the penalty of a premunire against any other person whom he might institute, exercising any of the functions of a Roman Catholic Bishop within this kingdom.

The mode proposed in "the sketch" of "a nomination of three persons by the Chapters," I have heard strongly objected to by their Bishops, and upon very good grounds. It would open a door to all manner of factions and intrigues in those

Chapters, and renew amongst them all the abuses for which this privilege, which was once general, has been withdrawn, I believe, in all Churches.

On the vacancy of an archbishopric, the names of three Bishops should be given in to the Government by the three remaining Archbishops for supplying the vacancy, under the same regulations as in the case of the Bishops. I would rather see the whole measure thrown up at once than not secure to the Crown, in some way or other, an *effectual* influence and control in this appointment of Archbishops and Bishops. By them, and them only, can the Government manage the body of the Roman Catholic Clergy, and secure them to its interests; and, if the Government steadily insists on the point, it may be certain that the Roman Catholic Bishops will acquiesce. With respect to the *deprivation* of Archbishops and Bishops, I should recommend the same regulations as in the deprivation of Priests and Curates. The causes and the process should be certified to the Crown by the Court of Rome, that it may appear that it is merely for a spiritual offence, or an offence against discipline, and in no way connected with any question of State, or affecting the peace and tranquillity of the country. No Regular should, on any pretext, be recommended for a bishopric.

As their Deans and Prebends are merely nominal, according to Dr. Troy's report, and should have no stipends as such, I do not think that the Government should interfere in their appointment, any further than in the way that may be adopted for the appointment to parishes and curacies. The recommendation to Rome should be left, as now, to the several Bishops; but here I would wish to suggest, that no recommendation, or what may be termed official correspondence *whatever*, should be carried on between the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland and the Court of Rome, or any of the Apostolical Legates in other countries, but through the Secretary's Office. Nor would I suffer any more than one General Agent for the Roman

Catholic Bishops (approved by the Government), to reside at Rome. It appears, from Sir John Coxe Hippisley's letters, and I know it from other information, that each Bishop has now his own particular Agent there, most of them Regulars, and it would surprise your Lordship to know the sums of money that, poor as are the Romish Clergy of Ireland, are remitted yearly by them, on one pretext or other, to Rome.

The Vicar-Generalship being such as Dr. Troy describes it, the appointment should be left in the Bishop; but, with regard to the *Vicar-Capitular*, whom the Chapter of every diocese choose on a vacancy to administer the diocese until the See be filled, the approbation of the Government should be made necessary before he can enter on his office.

I have as yet said nothing of the Curates, nor do I find that any mode has been proposed for their support. Thirty pounds a-year will, in my opinion, be a sufficient provision for them, and I think it ought to be paid by Government in the same manner as the stipend of the parish ministers. In a measure of such importance, expence ought not to be the chief consideration, and the Roman Catholic Bishops should be restrained from appointing or licensing Curates, except where absolutely necessary, either from the age or the illness of the parish priest, or the extent or population of the parish. But, if the provision of £30 a-year to each Curate may be thought too great an addition to the establishment, I would suggest the expediency of allowing the Curates to be supported by Christmas and Easter offerings, made publicly at the altar in the parish in which they serve, and by certain fees, in the nature of surplice fees, to be fixed by the Bishops and registered on marriages, and christenings, and masses, which they get said for the dead; but I would guard, in the most effectual manner, against any Priest, whether Curate or parish Priest, taking money at the confessional, or for confessions and absolutions; and the parish Priest should be precluded from receiving any fee, oblation, or gratuity, from his parishioners.

To prevent the abuse of having any other Priests than such as are allocated to some particular parish or curacy wandering through the country, it should be made penal in any person to preach or exercise any function whatever of a Roman Catholic Priest without a license from the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese, which license should be certified at the Secretary's office, and registered at the Quarter Sessions.

The whole question concerning the Regulars is well and fully discussed by "the letter," and by Sir J. C. Hippisley. For myself, I should wish to see the advice of "the letter" followed, and that they should not be brought in any way within the bounty of Government. I would most earnestly recommend to your Lordship to suffer their mendicant mode of subsisting to be connived at in the persons of those who are now actually professing, as they term it, and have no parishes or curacies, but *strictly* to forbid the admission of any Monk or Friar from abroad into the kingdom from the present period, and the reception or profession of any novice in the houses now established here. This regulation I would also extend to nunneries, which are shamefully increasing.

Nothing in my mind is left to be said on the admission of bulls, briefs, &c., in addition to what "the letter" and Sir J. C. Hippisley have observed and recommended. I would, however, call your Lordship's attention to one very great and oppressive abuse that is connected with their discipline.

Excommunication, with us, cannot be pronounced against any one, without a legal process in our Spiritual Courts. With us, too, "this devil has lost his horn," as one of our old divines has observed, by the necessity we are under of having recourse to the Civil Courts to give it effect. But it is not so among the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The Bishops and the Priests employ this dangerous weapon summarily, and the effects are as dreadful as in the most ignorant days of the Church. The excommunicated person is cut off from all social intercourse, and, if he is a tradesman, an artisan, or a labourer (and, in-

deed, they do not venture to excommunicate persons of any other description), he is sure to be beggared, as no one will employ him. I should earnestly recommend this for some specific regulation, and that it should be stipulated that every sentence of excommunication pronounced by any Bishop or Priest should be only after an open trial and a regular process, and that the cause, the process, and the sentence, should be immediately certified into our Civil Courts. So dangerous a power, that attacks so immediately and so oppressively the personal franchises of the subject, ought to be most jealously watched over, and circumscribed by the Government of every country; and, as it is merely a matter of discipline, the Roman Catholic clergy cannot object to having it put, as near as may be, under the same regulations as our own Church submits to. The chief use they have lately made of it has been against persons reading our bibles and other *heretical* books, or frequenting our churches, or sending Roman Catholic children to Protestant schools. This, since the publication of Hussey's letter, has been represented to the people as an enormous crime, and to be punished in the most exemplary manner. If their excommunications, and the causes of them, were to be recorded in our Courts, they would hardly venture to extend them to those cases.

Indeed, as the proposed arrangement is meant to be comprehensive and lasting, something ought to be done on this head of schools. I once took the liberty of talking to your Lordship on the subject, and, if the Bishops did their duty, they ought long since to have addressed the Government on the abuses which every day are brought before them, from the introduction and the enforcement of this doctrine of Hussey's. It ought to be fairly brought before the Roman Catholic Bishops, and a positive renunciation, disavowal, and dereliction of it, as well in words as in practice, insisted on, as directly militating against those principles of liberality on which they call upon us to act, as decidedly contrary to the spirit of the

proposed agreement, and as altogether inadmissible and insupportable in a Protestant country. If they are suffered to act upon it, they will engross into their hands the education of all the Protestant children of the middling and poorer classes. These classes are not numerous enough to make it bread for a man to instruct them, if the Roman Catholics are precluded from sending their children to him. There is not a day that we do not receive complaints on this head. Numbers of parishes have been left without a Protestant master on this account, although every incumbent is bound by oath to employ one.

It might be one step towards lessening the evil, if a penalty were to be inflicted on every Roman Catholic who should keep a school without taking out a license from the Bishop of the diocese. To apply for this license, the recommendation of the Roman Catholic Bishop should be made necessary. But the Bishop should be authorized to refuse it in the first instance, if he should think fit, and to recall it at pleasure.

The horrid abuses resulting from the manner in which confession and absolution are administered in Ireland are well and fully exposed in the letter; but nothing, I fear, can be attempted for the removal of those fiends from among us. It is a radical and inherent evil in that Church, and what must ever continue to be, destructive of all Christian morals among every people professing its creed, until it shall please God to correct all its abuses, and restore true and genuine Christianity in its place.

If the writer of "the letter" has thought it necessary to apologize to your Lordship for having trespassed on your time, how much more necessary must it be for me to offer my apologies, who have so much more reason to be diffident of my opinions, and who have thrown these observations so hastily and so inaccurately together; but I have obeyed, as I shall ever be happy to do, your Lordship's commands.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. L. MEATH.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Grosvenor Street, November 24, 1800.

My dear Lord—On looking over some papers on my return from Somersetshire, I find one which I had intended to transmit to your Lordship as an additional Appendix to the *precis* of correspondence[1] before sent.

I understand the Catholic prelates are at present convened at Dublin, and the subject of a provision will probably be agitated. I have written to Dr. Moylan, forwarding to him a copy of a letter I received from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff and Congregation, and also a copy of one from Cardinal Antonelli, as they go to the point of an *approval* that the Catholic Clergy should receive such a provision—also the letter of the Scotch Prelates on the subject of the provision afforded to them.

It is possible that, before this reaches your Lordship, everything may be adjusted to the satisfaction of Government in Ireland; yet I thought it advisable to trouble your Lordship with these enclosures, which might be interesting in the event of any difference of opinion among the Prelates, on a supposition that Rome would be disinclined to such a constructive dependency.

I am disposed to think that I before sent a copy of the letter from Propaganda to your Lordship, but I have not an accurate recollection of it.

I have the honour, &c., J. C. HIPPISLEY.

PS. I have just received a letter from the Cardinal York, (returned from the country) who, speaking of the delay in carrying into effect the reform of the National Colleges of Rome, says:—"I approve of your intention to write to the Holy Father with regard to our National Colleges, concerning which any recommendation for my good offices is quite super-

[1] This Correspondence is given in the Supplement to 1799, p. 80 to 141, ante.

fluous, since both conscience and inclination, honour and obligation, require all my possible endeavours, where there is any question of my nation and country."

The letter is so interesting, that I will send your Lordship a copy by next post.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. London, Friday, December 12, 1800.

My dear Lord—As the labours in which both Houses have been engaged, in consequence of the scarcity and high price of provisions, will, I trust, be brought to such a termination by Christmas as will allow of their being suspended till the meeting of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I must address directly to yourself the wish I yesterday expressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, that you may be able to arrange your engagements in such a manner as to let us have the advantage of your assistance on the 26th or 27th inst. There will be some matters of form upon which we shall wish to have your Lordship's opinion previous to the Council, which the King has ordered to be held on New Year's Day, for giving the necessary orders on that happy event of the Union; and there are, besides, as you well know, some very great and important matters which must be unavoidably decided before the meeting of Parliament takes place, in determining which your presence will, in the opinion of all the King's servants, be judged to be indispensably necessary. I therefore shall look with confidence for your arrival on this day or to-morrow fortnight at latest, and I am too much used to your punctuality to apprehend a disappointment.

The conduct of the Emperor of Russia[1] has made us judge

[1] The Emperor Paul, whose conduct towards the conclusion of his life betrayed strong symptoms of insanity, and was equally marked by bitter animosity against Great Britain and her interests. This enmity originated chiefly in the refusal of our Cabinet to surrender Malta, which, after a protracted blockade, had been reduced by the British arms, and

it necessary to set on foot an inquiry to see whether there are not parts of the King's dominions, and particularly whether Ireland cannot furnish us with hemp, for which we are now in a manner almost dependent upon the Russian dominions; and I have written to the Lord-Lieutenant to desire him to lose no time in having the matter investigated, and sending us all the information that can be obtained upon the subject; which I have suggested to him to convey to us by your Lordship, Mr. Corry, and Mr. Beresford, or all of you, as I am sure your advice upon that subject would be of the greatest use to the Committee of Trade, and as I know besides that it is much wished for by them.

If, therefore, you should not have time previous to your departure to collect the materials necessary to establish the facts which must make the groundwork of any Parliamentary proceeding in this respect, I hope you will recommend it to the care of the other two gentlemen I have mentioned, and urge them to use their best diligence and despatch in obtaining and bringing over such information as may enable us to bring forward some measure for the encouragement of the growth of this important article, as may convince the Court of Petersburgh that our thraldom is voluntary, and that we can maintain our independence in this as well as in every other respect.

Ever, my dear Lord,

PORTLAND.

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of which, having taken upon himself the office of Grand Master of the Order, he claimed the possession. Enraged at this rebuff, the Imperial Autocrat exerted himself to revive the league of the Armed Neutrality formed in 1780 by the northern powers against our naval predominance; he not only challenged to single combat all the sovereigns who should decline to join with him in this league, but, on the 8th of November, laid an embargo on all English ships in the ports of Russia. This state of things was terminated by the prompt and decisive measures of the British Government, and by the violent death of the Emperor a few months afterwards.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Cooke.

Private. London, December 29, 1800.

My dear Cooke—We had a very favourable passage, and reached town the third day from Chester. I have not yet had much talk about business.

With regard to the Crown Lawyers, I shall not venture to give any opinion till I have seen Mr. Pitt: but I should imagine he would consider compensation and immediate promotion as rather inconsistent. In order to have the whole of the case considered, I wish you would call on the Crown Revenue Solicitors, to state what payments have been made during the last three years to the Attorney, Solicitor, Prime Sergeant, and First and Second Counsel to the Board of Parliamentary Business, distinguishing the particulars of each payment; and I should be glad to receive this information with as little delay as possible, accompanied by such remarks as occur to you, with regard to those payments being contrary to any former commutation.

I should hope that none of our legal friends would press for compensation contrary to Mr. Pitt's advice, should it be so given. If they did, I conceive their grounds of application would be taken away by directing the Crown Solicitor and the Revenue Board to pay the present incumbents in those offices such a sum annually so long as they continued to fill their respective situations, in addition to the annual fees upon the Parliamentary business which may come before them, as shall make their gross annual profits upon Bills, &c., equal to what they have been in the receipt of, upon an average of the eight last years. This seems perfectly liberal as far as occupants are concerned. With respect to persons who would take the benefit of the above principle, so long as they remain in their present situations, but who may not stand so well if translated without compensation to an office hitherto more lucrative, but which hereafter may be less so, (as in the case of Osborne) some saving

distinction must be taken.. Were the appointment perfected before the 1st of January, the case would then be provided for under the principle above laid down; but this cannot be done till an Act is passed with reference to the Mastership of the Rolls. I think, however, an equitable application of the above principle might be extended to those who, though not legally appointed prior to the 1st of January, actually accepted of those situations prior to that date, relinquishing offices in which they would clearly have a right either to compensation or undiminished profits, and whose appointment was delayed beyond that date only by the Master of the Rolls interrupting the succession. This *would* give Osborne, and *might* give, without much violence of construction, the future successors at the Revenue Board to Johnson and Osborne, the full benefit of possessing those offices under their accustomed profits. These particular cases being disposed of, it would then be altogether a matter of policy to consider what emolument should in future be connected with those situations. I have stated the opinion, of course hastily, for the Lord-Lieutenant's consideration, but do not expect that it should be acted upon till I know Mr. Pitt's sentiments upon this subject.

I have just received your letter of the 23d, relative to Lord C. Fitzgerald. Should that office become vacant, as far as Irish views are concerned, I think it could not be better disposed of than in either of the ways you suggest. The first would be most convenient in point of patronage; the latter, perhaps, be most for the public interest, by relieving the Military Service from Lord T. I don't know whether Mr. Pitt would have any other wish.

M'Donnell asked for the Deputy Adjutant Generalship, which was given to Raymond. On being refused, he solicited a corresponding professional situation. He was promised, in case Government could not gratify him, a civil employment of £500 a year. The amount was precisely understood, as Marshall will recollect.

I will not fail to speak to Mr. Pitt relative to the Parliament House.

Do not forget to enlarge the inferior Northern prisoners on bail, and to direct those of consideration in Carrickfergus Castle to be more strictly confined. Mr. Ker met them walking out three miles from town, without any guard, which is worse than being at large.

I quite agree in thinking the system of deputies is an intolerable job, and that it ought to be put an end to. If there is a general rule made, I think it cannot be too strictly enforced, and certainly have no wish, in the case of Knowles, to extend this evil.

Believe me, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Phœnix Park, December 29, 1800.

My dear Lord—Your letter of the 24th, which was brought yesterday, has not much contributed to raise my spirits, which the late public events have much depressed. Holding Ireland on our present tenure, how are we to make head against all Europe, leagued for our destruction? Lord Kilwarden again spoke to Littlehales on the subject, and told him that the Catholics placed their trust in me, and rather insinuated that they conceived that the object of my remaining in the Government, after the completion of the Union, was to carry the point for them. Whatever Lord Loughborough's opinion may be of the practicability of concession, he will, in a short time, or I am much mistaken, find it still more impracticable to resist.

Everything has been given of late with a most profuse hand, and the points which I neither asked nor recommended have been acceded to more readily than those for which the honour of my Government was engaged, and on which the success of the Union depended.

Our new Primate was with me for an hour the day before he

set out for Armagh, and, from what I have seen and heard of him, I have every reason to believe he will do exceedingly well.

A ridiculous mistake was made (I am afraid in our office here), calling the Rev. G. la Poer Beresford Dean of *Elphin* instead of *Kilmore*. Cooke has written to get it rectified, and, as Beresford's name is mentioned, I conclude there can be no difficulty.

We have an account this morning that the mail was attacked near Navan, and one of the guard and one of the horses wounded, but the mail was not taken.

There have been reports for some short time past that there were nightly meetings at or in the neighbourhood of Clara, which place is between Kilbeggan and Tullamore, and two soldiers of the Light Infantry Company of the Queen's County, who were in coloured clothes, pursuing a deserter, declare that, in the night, they fell in with a considerable body of men, and that the insurgents let them pass, and treated them very kindly, upon their saying that they were themselves deserters. There are so many troops at and in the neighbourhood of Athlone, that I cannot conceive it possible that there should be a rising in that quarter. I have, however, ordered detachments to be sent to Clara and to Tullamore, and have directed Generals Scott and Barrett, who are stationed at Athlone and Mullingar, to be on the watch, and have given notice to General Dundas, whose district includes the King's County, of the circumstances which have been reported. I do not transmit these accounts by way of alarming you, but that you may be master of the subject, in the event of idle or exaggerated stories going over to your side of the water.

I am inclined to believe, that, for some time at least, it will be proper to have a War Office here; but Elliot will be able to explain that matter more fully to you.

From some conversation which I have had with Marsden, I trust that he and Cooke will go on better.

I am, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, December 29, 1800.

My dear Lord—I understand from your letter to his Excellency that there is a hitch as to the War Office. I think the objection goes to the extent of not paying the troops in Ireland from the Irish but the British Treasury, and to the abolition of Irish army agents and of Irish army clothiers; which, if done (supposing great embarrassment in business were not to arise), there would accrue great losses by exchange, a great discouragement to the woollens of Ireland, and an unfair transfer of profit from the Irish to the British army agent; and the consequence would be much just complaint and unpopularity. I cannot conceive the policy of carrying every possible source of wealth and profit to London and London alone; and the less number of losers by the Union the more palatable will be that measure. If the Irish army is to be paid by the Irish Treasury—and I conceive that to be necessary—the Irish Treasury will want proper persons to control the military demands upon it. What can be so proper as the Irish War Office, which performs the duty of the English Comptroller of Army Accounts, which checks demands before issue?—and, in these checks, the War Office here may be, as it is in fact now, subject to the regulations of the British War Office.

I trust you will enforce the policy of keeping up all the Irish local advantages and profits, and preserve the sources of general as well as of individual benefit from being carried over to London: and I am assured there will be much sinister manœuvre for the purpose.

Martin told me, the other day, that Sir Thomas French and some other Catholics wanted to petition the United Parliament. I said, "Surely they might, in the first instance, think of consulting the Government, from whom all their indulgences have been received." He said he had so advised. This may be truth or not.

The system of attacking mail-coaches continues—*voici*, the enclosed.

Some symptoms tending to insurrection have appeared at Gort and at Clara—I mean a design of that kind among the lower orders: and I hear of a new pass-word in Wexford; but I have nothing defined to write.

The dearness of provisions continues, and increases in some parts: possibly this snow will make the farmers thrash out. To-morrow malting will be discontinued. I submit that it would be right for us to be furnished with powers to make coarse bread and bread mixed with barley or oats.

Will you be kind enough to order some copies of all the Provision Reports to be sent over?

Most truly and faithfully,

E. COOKE.

Dr. Robert Black to Lord Castlereagh.

Londonderry, December 30, 1800.

My Lord—After bestowing on the subject every attention of which I was capable, I enclose, for your Lordship's consideration, with very great diffidence indeed, a sketch of a plan for regulating the future connection between Government and the Synod.

On the formation of the Commission in particular, I have the most serious doubts, but these may arise from the novelty of such an institution in our Church, which, notwithstanding my fears, may prove of great utility.

I hope soon to be able to send a more correct list of the Congregations than your Lordship has yet received; but I think the arrangement will be nearly as on the margin of the first page, and will require about £16,000 gross annually for every purpose mentioned.

If your Lordship should think that my waiting on your

Lordship in the course of February or March, in my private capacity, would be of any use in explaining any point, I would like exceedingly to make the journey: it would, on many accounts, be very pleasant to me.

I have not been able to suggest any practicable mode of uniting the provision for the Seceding or Southern Ministers with that of the Synod. The sentiments, habits, and feelings of these bodies differ too much to permit their uniting in any manner; and yet the Seceders require regulation still more than the Synod, and I believe the Southern Ministers do not require it less. The Seceding Congregations, both in number of families and in rank, are far from respectable; and, if the bounty to their clergy be left on its present footing without regulation, their cause will acquire popularity, and possessing, as they do, (in common with all new sects) great zeal and activity in making proselytes, they may become very troublesome to the Ministers of the Synod living in their neighbourhood. Perhaps the plan for referring the character of Ministers directly from the Synod to the Lord-Lieutenant and Council would apply with equal effect to the Seceders, who have also their Synod on the Presbyterian model. The Southern Association has not, so far as I know, any supreme Church indicatory, to which the Presbyteries, of which it is composed, are responsible; but here, too, the character of the Ministers might be referred from the Presbyteries (I believe there are but two of these) to the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, and thus these three Protestant Dissenting Churches would stand on the same footing in their connexion with the State, only the funds for their several uses would be distinct. I would not be supposed, however, to interfere in any manner with the concerns of these bodies. It may save your Lordship the trouble of an immediate inquiry elsewhere, if I state here the amount of the allowances to non-conforming ministers on the Irish Establishment:—

	£	s.	d.
The Ministers of the Synod and Presbytery of Antrim	5,929	16	10
The Seceding Ministers	1,427	8	5
The Southern Association	322	11	7
The non-conforming Ministers of St. Peter's, Dublin	20	3	2
Total	7,700	0	0

I believe, my Lord, that the ferment in the Synod is subsiding. Your Lordship's answer to Mr. Bankhead on the subject of the distribution is generally known, and nothing is spoken of but acquiescence.

In writing to your Lordship, for the first time since my return from Mount Stewart, I cannot restrain the expression, however feeble, of my gratitude for your Lordship's goodness. My son is delighted with the prospects which are opened to him, through your Lordship's favour. I trust he will be sensible of its value, and endeavour to deserve it by a correct and proper conduct.

Believe me to be, my Lord, with every feeling of grateful and respectful attachment, &c.

ROBERT BLACK.

On looking over my letter, I find I have omitted to mention my anxiety about a charter for the Widows' Fund. The security and prosperity of that institution would greatly tend to the future respectability of the clergy, by facilitating their marrying into families of repute and influence.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, December 31, 1800.

My dear Lord—I hope all the needful to be done before to-morrow has been done.

The authority for the use of the Irish Privy Seal is arrived, as also for the continuance of the Irish Privy Council; but there has been an error in the King's Letter on the latter sub-

ject; for those Privy Councillors only who have *taken the oaths* are continued, by which five or six, who are appointed *but not sworn*, are excluded. I have prepared a letter for having the mistake rectified.

The world are angry that they are to pay through the nose for carrying their plate to London, although English plate.

My Lord-Lieutenant told me this morning that your Lordship conceived the officers of the Irish Ordnance might be compensated under the Compensation Act, if they were superseded by uniting the British and the Irish Ordnance. Surely this measure is not a necessary consequence of the Union, for, if they were united now, the King might disunite them. It is a mere prerogative, voluntary act.

Captain Blighe has finished his survey of the harbour, and will give in his ideas in a few days. I think it would be of great consequence, could your Lordship procure an Admiralty Order for him to survey Holyhead harbour on his return. It would take him a very little time, and I understand a complete *deep* water harbour would be there formed at small expense, by which the packets could be ever afloat, and could sail at any moment. It would be of great importance.

How far would your Lordship wish that the expence should be paid by the public in furnishing the Canal House for Gregory?

I give you enough for one post.

Ever, most truly, &c.,

E. Cooke.

SUPPLEMENT.

I. BOROUGHS.

Principle for Reducing the number of Boroughs in Ireland.

In settling the scheme of Representation, it may be assumed:

First, That the whole number of Representatives must not materially exceed, and ought, if possible, to be brought within 100.

Second, That of these, 68 must be allotted to the Counties and two Cities, leaving only 32 to be apportioned among the 116 Boroughs.

Third, That no election of Boroughs, or reduction of the value of Elective Privilege, can safely be proposed to any considerable extent, without a proportional pecuniary Compensation to those who now possess the benefit arising from such Privilege.

Fourth, That with respect to what are termed close Boroughs, it is conceived this Compensation may be given to the individuals possessed of the commanding interests, without regard to any claim from the actual Electors, but that, with respect to the open Boroughs, no such compensation can be given directly, and no possible means exist of settling a Compensation by private arrangement, for more than a small proportion of the persons possessing the interest in these Boroughs. Under these circumstances, an option is to be made between the two modes of distributing the choice of 32 Members, either in rotation, or by sets, among the 116 Bo-

roughs, or of extinguishing all the Boroughs but about 32, each of which might be allowed one member, and possibly in one or two instances one or *two* each: any intermediate plan, which would extinguish some of the Boroughs, and yet not afford to each of the remainder the separate right of choosing at least one Member, seems evidently liable at once to almost all the objections which would belong to either of the other plans separately. The chief considerations which operate against the first mode of classing Boroughs, and in favour of extinguishing all but about 32, are, first, that it would afford the means of allotting one Member each to all, if necessary, or at least to the greater part of the open Boroughs, to whom direct Compensation is stated to be inapplicable. Second, that it avoids the odium which it is conceived must arise from leaving any part of the Representation to be formed from places which had received Compensation for the surrender of part of their elective right, and where that right had therefore been publicly recognised as private property.

The great and forcible objections which have been stated against the proposal of selecting a certain number of Boroughs and extinguishing the remainder are in substance—

First. That there seems to be no solid, or even plausible, principle for applying the selection.

Second. That retaining the open Elections (which must be done in a great degree to make this scheme attain its object) preserves by preference what is the worst species of Representation.

Third. That the principle of reduction and mode of applying it may be considered as applicable to English Representation.

There is perhaps no suggestion, by which these weighty objections against the plan of selection can be entirely removed; but they seem to be capable of being considerably diminished, if the selection can be made to rest neither on any arbitrary preference of any individual Boroughs, nor on a preference of open Boroughs over close, but on some obvious and ostensible

general principle impartially applied to all, according to the nature of the case.

This might be effected by stating, as the basis of the plan, that, as the number of the Representatives for Boroughs *must* be reduced in Ireland, and as the extinction of some, with Compensation, seems a much simpler mode than any division among classes, it is proposed to select the 32 Towns, which are in themselves most considerable for wealth or population, without regard to what is the description of their right of Election.

This principle would, in point of fact, include *most* but not *all* of the Boroughs. It would not exclude enough to form any material practical obstacle to the measure, and of the small number excluded, a large part would, in fact, consist of interests likely to be decidedly hostile. At the same time, it would hold out no principle fairly applicable to a Representation where, as in England, there is no absolute necessity for reduction of the numbers. It would afford an ostensible principle of selection reasonable and equitable in itself, but which nevertheless admits no preference as to modes of Election, and seems to give as little colour as possible to any theoretical notions of Reform; it certainly would retain a large proportion of objectionable open Boroughs, but it would give them no preference as such, or on account of the nature of the Election, but on account of the comparative weight and consideration of the place.

The particular Boroughs which it is imagined would be selected on this principle are stated in the annexed list. It is of great importance to the character of the measure that the practical application of the principle should be strictly impartial, as it would operate unfavourably to some of the opposers of Government, a circumstance which, though the reverse of an objection, if the scheme be in itself a right one, ought clearly to be shown to be the result of a principle selected for its own sake, and not a secret motive for arbitrarily assuming one.

Boroughs in Ireland at the time of the Union.

Counties.	Close.	Open.	Date of Charter.
Antrim	. .	Antrim	17 Car. II., January 5, 1665.
	Belfast	. .	11 Jac. I., April 27, 1613.
	. .	Lisburne	14 Car. II., October 27, 1662.
	Randalstown	. .	36 Car. II., September 15, 1684.
Armagh	Armagh	. .	11 Jac. I., March 26, 1613.
	Charlemont	. .	11 J. I., April 29, 1613.
	. .	Carrickfergus	11 Eliz , March 20, 1568.
Carlow	Carlow	. .	11 J. I., April 19, 1613.
	Leighlin	. .	No C., inrolled. July 1, 1614. 1st ent.
Cavan	Belturbet	. .	11 J. I., March 30, 1613.
	Cavan	. .	8 J. I , November 15, 1610.
Clare	Ennis	. .	10 J. I., February 27, 1612.
Cork	. .	Baltimore[1]	11 J. I., March 25, 1613.
	. .	Bandon[2]	11 J. I., March 30, 1613.
	Castle Martyr	. .	26 Car. II., July 28, 1674.
	Charleville	. .	23 Car. II., May 29, 1671.
	Cloghnakilty	. .	11 J. I., May 5, 1613.
	. .	Cork City[3]	7 J. I., March 10, 1608.
	Doneraile	. .	31 Car. II., May 1, 1679.
	. .	Kinsale	5 Rich. II., January 28, 1381.
	. .	Mallow[4]	10 Jac. I., February 27, 1612.
	Middleton	. .	22 Car. II., January 2, 1670.
	Rathcormick	. .	33 Car. II., March 11, 1681.
	. .	Youghall	5 Henry VI., May 12, 1427.
Donegal	Ballyshannon	. .	10 Jac. I., March 23, 1612.
	Donegal	. .	10 Jac. I., February 27, 1612.
	Killebeggs	. .	13 Jac. I., December 14, 1615.
	Lifford	. .	10 Jac. I., February 27, 1612.
	St. Johnstown[5]	. .	16 Jac. I., August 6, 1618.
Down	Bangor	. .	10 Jac. I., March 18, 1612.
	. .	Downpatrick[6]	5 Henry IV., January 28, 1403.
	Hillsborough	. .	13 Car. II., December 19, 1662.
	Killyleagh	. .	10 J. I., March 10, 1612.
	. .	Newry[7]	10 J. I., February 27, 1612.
	Newtownards	. .	11 J. I., March 26, 1613.
	. .	Drogheda[8]	3 & 4 Ph. & Mary, April 6, 1557.
Dublin	. .	Dublin City[9]	38 Henry VIII., April 20, 1510.
	. .	Dublin Univ.	11 Jac. I., May 12, 1613.
	Newcastle	. .	11 Jac. I., March 30, 1613.
	. .	Swords	21 Eliz , May 2, 1578.
Fermanagh	Inniskillen	. .	10 J. I., February 27, 1612.
Galway	. .	Galway[10]	3 Edw. VI., November 8, 1549.
	Athenry	. .	16 Eliz., July 8, 1574.
	Tuam	. .	11 Jac. I., March 30, 1613.
Kerry	Dingle-Icouch[11]	. .	28 Eliz , ———, 1587.
	Ardfert[12]	. .	10 Jac. I., July 6, 1612.
	Tralee	. .	11 Jac. I., March 31, 1613.
Kildare	Athy[13]	. .	11 J. I , May 10, 1613.
	Harristown	. .	34 C. II., December 8, 1681.
	Kildare[14]	. .	No Charter appears.
	Naas[15]	. .	38 Eliz., July 18, 1569.*

* It should be 1596. Elizabeth became Queen in 1558.

Boroughs in Ireland (continued).

Counties.	Close.	Open.	Date of Charter.
Kilkenny	Callan[16]	. .	3 Henry IV., June 10, 1407, not inrolled.
	St. Canice[17]	. .	29 Car. II., ———, 1676.
	Gowran[18]	. .	6 J. I., September 15, 1608.
	Innistrogue[19]	. .	22 Edw. VI., May 3, 1548.
	. .	Kilkenny[20]	
	Knocktopher[21]	. .	By Prescription.
King's Co.	Thomastown[22]	. .	1 Mary, March 12, 1553.
	Banagher	. .	4 Car. I., September 16, 1628.
	Philipstown	. .	11 Eliz., March 14, 1569.
Leitrim	Carrick	. .	11 Jac. I., March 30, 1613.
	Jamestown	. .	19 J. I., February 1, 1621.
Limerick	Askeyton	. .	11 J. I., March 30, 1613.
	Kilmallock[23]	. .	22 Ed. IV., February 15, 1482.
	. .	Limerick City[24]	6 Ed. VI., February 20, 1551.
Londonderry	Coleraine	. .	11 Jac. I., March 25, 1613.
	. .	Londonderry City	2 Jac. I., July 11, 1604.
	N. Limavady	. .	11 Jac. I., March 30, 1613.
Longford	Longford	. .	20 and 21 Car. II., Nov. 27, 1668.
	Granard	. .	30 Car. II., August 24, 1678.
	Lanesborough	. .	17 Car. II., June 28, 1665.
	St. Johnstown	. .	3 Car. I., April 3, 1627.
Louth	.	Ardee[25]	2 Hen. V., October 20, 1414.
	Carlingford[26]	. .	13 Eliz., March 23, 1570.
	. .	Dundalk[27]	7 Hen. VIII., June 16, 1515.
	Dunleek	. .	35 Car. II., August 3, 1683.
Mayo	Castlebar	. .	11 Jac. I., March 26, 1613.
	. .	Athboy	9 Henry IV., December 8, 1407.
Meath	Duleek[28]	. .	In or before the Reign of Edw. IV.
	Kells[29]	. .	No charter of incorp. appears.
	Navan	. .	9 Ed. IV., May 2, 1469.
	Ratrath[30]	. .	No charter appears.
	. . .	Trim	13 Eliz., March 8, 1570.
Monaghan	Monaghan	. .	11 Jac. I., March 26, 1613.
Queen's Co.	Ballynakill	. .	10 Jac. I., December 18, 1612.
	Maryborough	. .	12 Eliz., April 4, 1570.
	Portarlington	. .	19 Car. II., August 3, 1667.
Roscommon	Boyle	. .	11 Jac. I., March 25, 1613.
	Roscommon	. .	10 Jac. I., February 27, 1612.
	Tulske	. .	14 Car. II., July 24, 1662.
Sligo	Sligo	. .	11 Jac. I., March 30, 1613.
Tipperary	. .	Cashel[31]	2 Rich. 3, July 20, 1484.
	. .	Clonmell[32]	6 Ed. VI., June 5, 1552.
	. .	Fethard	6 Ed. VI., May 28, 1552.
Tyrone	Clogher[33]	. .	No charter appears.
	Augher	. .	11 Jac. I., April 15, 1613.
	Dungannon	. .	10 Jac. I., November 27, 1612.
	Strabane	. .	10 Jac. I., March 18, 1612.
Waterford	. .	Dungarvon[34]	3 Ed. IV., ———, 1463.
	. .	Lismore[35]	11 J. I., May 6, 1613.
	. .	Tallagh[36]	11 J. I., May 1, 1613.
	. .	Waterford	16 Hen. 2, June 16, 1211.
Westmeath	Athlone	. .	4 Jac. I., December 16, 1606.
	Fore[37]	. .	No charter appears.
	Kilbeggan	. .	10 J. I., February 27, 1612.
	Mullingar[38]	. .	27 Car. II., March 9, 1675.

Boroughs of Ireland (continued).

Counties.	Close.	Open.	Date of Charter.
Wexford	Bannow[39]	. .	No charter appears.
	Clonmines[40]	. .	No charter appears.
	Enniscorthy	. .	11 J. I., March 25, 1613.
	Fethard	. .	11 J. I., April 15, 1613.
	Gorey	. .	17 J. I., October 10, 1619.
	New Ross[41]	. .	9 J. I., February 3, 1611.
	Taghmon[42]	. .	No charter appears.
	. .	Wexford[43]	12 Hen. IV., April 13, 1411.
Wicklow	Baltinglass	. .	15 Car. II., February, 1662.
	Blessington	. .	21 Car. II., August 2, 1669.
	Carysfort	. .	4 Car. I., August 23, 1628.
	Wicklow	. .	11 Jac. I., March 30, 1613.
	Total 87	31	118.

Notes and Observations.

[1] Baltimore is one of King James's Boroughs, having the right of election in the Sovereign and the twelve free Burgesses only, without the intervention of the Commonalty. It is only put down as an Open Borough.

[2] Bandon. The same observation likewise applicable to Bandon.

[3] Cork City. Although the date of the Charter is put down the 7th James I., yet it appears that several former Charters had been granted so far back as Henry III., and members returned to Parliament from 1374.

[4] Mallow is one of King James's Boroughs, having the right of election in the Provost, and twelve Burgesses only. It is only put down as an Open Borough.

[5] St. Johnstown sent no members to Parliament till 1661.

[6] Downpatrick. This Borough was incorporated previously to the date of the Charter set down. The Charter set down is merely a grant of protection to the "Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commons of the City of Dune." It did not, however, send Members to Parliament till 1613.

[7] Newry appears to me, from the Abstract set forth in the MS. Parliamentary Register, to be one of King James's Close Boroughs, having the election in the Provost and twelve free Burgesses only, and not, as set forth in No. 1, in the inhabitants at large. Query: Why set down as an Open Borough?

[8] Drogheda has several earlier Charters than that set down.

[9] Dublin has Charters as far back as King John.

[10] Galway has several Charters previous to that put down: although the Charter here set down is a confirmation Charter, and presupposes prior ones.

[11] Dingle-Icouch. The date set down in the MS. P.R. is 5 J. I., June 6, 1607; but it appears that a former Charter was granted 28th Elizabeth without further date, which I have accordingly set down. Dingle sent Members to Parliament in 1585.

[12] Ardfert. No Charter appears in MS. P.R., but a grant of fairs and markets to Thomas, Lord of Kerry, the date of which I have here set down. No Members were sent to Parliament by Ardfert till 1634.

[13] Athy. It appears that Members for this Borough were returned in the Parliament of 1559, though no previous Charter appears to that set down.

[14] Kildare returned Members from the year 1559.

[15] Naas returned Members to the Parliament of 1559, i. e. ten years before the Charter set down.

[16] Callan returned Members for the first time Anno. 1585. No Charter is set forth in MS. P.R. Ergo, query, whence the date set down is taken.

[17] St. Canice. There is no Charter peculiar to St. Canice set forth in the MS. P.R. It appears that St. Canice, or Irishtown, was incorporated with Kilkenny, October 16, 1608, and April 11, 1609, and formed a component part of that Corporation. This shows that, previously to this period, notwithstanding the documents set forth in the MS. P.R., the Borough of St. Canice was not a Corporation in itself. The date set down is taken from the exemplification of a record in the King's Bench, which (as appears by the MS. P.R.) 29 Car., their being a separate Corporation is confirmed: by the same record, as well as by the MS. P.R., it appears, that the first time Members were sent from St. Canice to Parliament was Anno. 1661.

[18] Gowran. The date set down here is not of the first Charter. It appears, by the MS. P.R., that Gowran, or Ballygaueran, was incorporated February 6, 1414, 8 Henry V., but re-incorporated, as the town had fallen to decay, by the Charter set down. This Borough had sent no Members to Parliament prior to 1613.

[19] Innistroge. This town sent Members to Parliament in 1585, and it appears by the Charter set down to have been *an ancient Burgh*.

[20] Several Charters appear prior to the one set down, but this is a confirmation of them all.

[21] Knocktopher. Though this Corporation is asserted to be by pre-

scription, yet it does not appear that any Members were sent to Parliament prior to 1661.

[22] Thomastown was incorporated by the name of Grennan, and several Charters were granted previously to that set down.

[23] Kilmallock. It appears that this was a Corporation prior to the date set down.

[24] Limerick City. Charters were granted previously to that set down.

[25] Ardee. The date set down is only the date of an inspeximus. It appears from MS. P.R., that no Charter is forthcoming prior to that of 12 Anne, Feb. 28, 1712, but Members have been returned to Parliament since 1559. I have set down this as an open Borough, although stated in No. 1 to be close, because the Ruxtons have only an influence in it, but by no means command it.

[26] Carlingford. The date here set down is of the first Charter, although it appears that, at this date, the town was a corporate town. The date set down in the margin of MS. P.R., is 17 Jac. I, Aug. 9, 1619, by which Charter the town at present acts. It sent Members to Parliament in 1559.

[27] Prior Charters were granted to this town. It sent Members to Parliament in 1559.

[28] Duleek. No Charter appears, but 2 J. II., 1686, March 26, an exemplification is made of an Act passed 20 Edw. IV., 1481, from which it appears that Duleeke was at that time a town corporate. No members, however, were sent to Parliament till 1661.

[29] Kells sent Members to Parliament, Anno. 1559.

[30] Ratrath sent no Members to Parliament previously to 1661.

[31] Cashell. This I have put down as an open Borough, though in fact it is, as set down in No. 1, under the influence of Pennefather, and never contested. It sent Members to Parliament, 1585.

[32] Clonmel. This I have put down as an open Borough, though, in fact, it is set down in No. 1 as under the influence of Lord Mountcashel, and never contested. It sent Members to Parliament 1559.

[33] Clogher. Although no Charter appears, yet no Members were returned by Clogher to Parliament previously to 1613. April 20, 1629, 5 Car. I., letters patent are granted to the Bishop of Clogher, that the City should be erected into a Corporation.

[34] Dungarvan. The date here set down is of an Act of Parliament set forth in a Charter granted by J. 1, 7th year of his reign, Jan. 4, 1609, by which Charter the Corporation is incorporated anew. The town sent Members to Parliament, Anno. 1559.

[35] Lismore sent no Members to Parliament previously to 1613. The Corporation is constituted of 24 free Burgesses, which differs from the usual complement of J. I.'s Charters.

[36] Tallagh sent no members to Parliament till 1613. The Corporation constructed like Lismore.

[37] Fore. This town returned no Members to Parliament till 1634.

[38] Mullingar sent Members to Parliament in 1559.

[39] Bannow sent no Members to Parliament till 1634.

[40] Clonmines sent no Members to Parliament till 1634.

[41] New Ross had several Charters previous to that set down, was an ancient Corporation, and sent Members to Parliament in 1559.

[42] Taghmon sent no Members to Parliament previously to 1634.

[43] Wexford. The Charter set down is a confirmation of former Charters; the Corporation was more ancient. It sent Members to Parliament 155–. I have put it down an open Borough, though under the influence of Richard Neville and Lord Ely, and seldom contested.

PRINCIPAL BOROUGHS OF IRELAND,

Arranged according to the amount of Hearth and Window Duty, and according to the Number of Houses in 1800.

Hearth and Window Duty.		Number of Houses.	
1 Waterford	£7,200	1 Waterford	3,107
2 Limerick	6,256	2 Drogheda	3,087
3 Belfast	5,393	3 Belfast	3,056
4 Drogheda	2,876	4 Limerick	2,979
5 Newry	2,545	5 Kilkenny	1,548
6 Londonderry	2,262	6 Newry	1,503
7 Kilkenny	2,142	7 Dungarvan	1,377
8 Galway	1,928	8 Clonmel	1,349
9 Clonmel	1,899	9 Wexford	1,340
10 Wexford	1,831	10 Youghall	1,223
11 Kinsale	1,582	11 Galway	1,212
12 Youghall	1,479	12 Bandon	1,196
13 Bandon	1,406	13 Sligo	1,154
14 Lisburne	1,407	14 Londonderry	1,114
15 Dundalk	1,321	15 Dundalk	1,083
16 Armagh	1,284	16 Kinsale	1,036
17 Sligo	1,035	17 Ross	920
18 Carlow	1,029	18 Cashell	871
19 Coleraine	953	19 Armagh	834

Hearth and Window Duty.		Number of Houses.	
20 Dungannon	924	20 Coleraine	833
21 Portarlington	858	21 Carlow	823
22 Ross	828	22 Lisburne	802
23 Ennis	818	23 Tralee	731
24 Mallow	818	24 Downpatrick	678
25 Downpatrick	799	25 Athlone	676
26 Athlone	755	26 Mullingar	642
27 Cashell	739	27 Mallow	630
28 Tralee	712	28 Navan	608
29 Dungarvan	635	29 Longford	588
30 Strabane	604	30 Kells	574
31 Mullingar	582	31 Tuam	560
32 Monaghan	578	32 Ardee	556
33 Castlebar	562	33 Ennis	548
34 Enniskillen	535	34 Newtownards	499
35 Tuam	528	35 Castlebar	496
36 Kells	504	36 Strabane	481
37 Carrickfergus	475	37 Carrickfergus	475
38 Longford	466	38 Monaghan	471
39 Navan	463	39 Dungannon	384
40 Ardee	425	40 Antrim	382
41 Maryborough	398	41 Enniskillen	367
42 Newtownards	394	42 Maryborough	364
43 Athy	392	43 Athy	350
44 Antrim	383	44 Portarlington	322
45 Trim	350	45 Boyle	293
46 Wicklow	347	46 Trim	247
47 Hillsborough	344	47 New Town Limavady	232
48 Cavan	323	48 Wicklow	228
49 Ballyshannon	307	49 Cavan	224
50 Boyle	303	50 Ballyshannon	198
51 New Town Limavady	298	51 Hillsborough	159

PRECINCTS OF BOROUGHS.

CARRICKFERGUS.—From the north-east side of the town leading to the seaside, unto a stream or small river called Copland Water, which divideth the townland and the land belonging to the Bishop of Down and Connor. From the seaside, along by the said waterside to a ford called Annagulmyn, alias Clabesford, being N.N.W. from the outing of Copland Water into the sea; which ford is the farthest part of the bounds of the arable land, meadow, and pasture, belonging to the town that way. From Clabesford W.S.W. along the mearne and ditchside, to the south end of Lough Morne, and so from thence W.S.W. to a mearne and mark called

Carnahasocke, all Lark's Hill, and to a hill called Carne Sollagh, and from thence, still dividing the arable land, meadow, and pasture, from the Commons, S.W. directly to the Little Duncrowe, and over the ford of Larbricke to the ford of Turnegrawen, along the bank of the Knockagh to a mearne or mark called Fassorisneey, alias the Deer's Lane, which is also the farthest bounds of the arable land, meadow, and pasture, belonging to the town that way. From thence south to a small stream or river, called Lysnashenner, which runneth south into the sea, and divideth the townlands and the Earl's Meadow, and from thence leading, by the south, N.E. unto the town of Carrickfergus.

CAVAN.—All that circuit and extent of land from within the compass of one mile every way round about the town to be measured from the Stone House or Castle of the Cavan, commonly called O'Reylie's Castle.

ENNISKILLEN.—The Island of Enniskillen, with all the land therein, the Castle and Fortress excepted.

COLERAINE.—The town, and all hereditaments within the compass and circuit of three Irish miles every way, from the middle of the town.

PORTARLINGTON.—The town and such proportion of the lands of the Manor of Portarlington, extending every way into the King's and Queen's Counties from the pass over the river Barrow, commonly called Belladrite, near Cultaderry, alias Portarlington, 100 acres Irish plantation measure in the whole.

DUNGARVAN.—All St. Mary's parish, in whatever towns and hamlets it extended, and Nugent's parish within the ancient Liberties.

TALLAGH.—The town and all hereditaments within the circuit and precinct of one English mile and a half to be measured every way round about, from the parish Church, the Castle of Liffinnen, with the curtilage, gardens, and orchards thereunto belonging, only excepted.

ATHLONE.—The town and all the circuit and space of land and water within the compass of one mile and a half to be measured from the middle of the bridge of Athlone directly forth in a right line every way round about the said mile and a half, containing 1500 geometrical paces, every pace five feet in length, the King's House, or Castle of Athlone, and the precinct or circuit thereof, excepted.

NEW ROSS.—All lands, waters, and hereditaments, within the space of one mile beyond the ancient limit and bounds of the franchise every way in circuit, within the County of Wexford only; the Castle, town, and lands of Mountgarret excepted.

WICKLOW.—The town and all hereditaments within the precincts thereof, the King's Castle, with the privilege thereto belonging, excepted.

ATHY.—The town and all the lands and hereditaments within half a mile, in a straight line from every side of the White Castle.

BANAGHER.—Two hundred acres of arable and pasture land, and 70 acres of wood and moor, viz.—101 acres arable and pasture, and 10 acres of wood and moor in the towns and lands of Bannacher, Crakebrone, Lecharrow, and Beclanalech, next adjoining the Shannon and town of Curragh; and 99 acres arable and pasture, and 10 acres of wood and moor, in Lomcloane, next adjoining to Clongownagh; and 50 acres of wood and moor in the wood and moor of Clongawnagh and Camcourt, next adjoining to Lomcloane.

II. CATHOLICS.

Mr. Cooke to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

Private. Dublin, October 25, 1800.

Dear Sir—According to your desire, I enclose to you a list of Queries, on which it is requested you will obtain every information in your power, in order that his Majesty's Ministers may be possessed of the state of the Roman Catholic Church in this kingdom. It is extremely wished that the information desired may be procured with as much expedition as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

E. COOKE.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Mr. Cooke.

North King Street, Dublin, December 20, 1800.

Dear Sir—In compliance with your desire, I have the honour to inform you that the regular Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, and everywhere, are subject to the respective Bishops, without whose license they cannot preach, hear confessions, or administer any sacrament. The Bishops likewise take cognizance of their conduct.

With respect to the observance of domestic discipline peculiar to the respective religious institutions, each order is governed by a Provincial, elected every third or fourth year by the senior members. I shall mention the names of the present Provincials, and their places of abode, on the next side, and have the honour to be,

Your most faithful humble servant,

J. T. TROY.

Provincials of the Religious Orders in Ireland.

Franciscans—Rev. Bernard Brady, Adam and Eve, Dublin.

Dominicans—Rev. Patrick Gibbons, Denmark Street, Dublin.

Augustinians—Rev. Edmond Keating, Brunswick Street, Cork.

Carmelites—Rev. Patrick O'Ferrall, Kildare.

Teresian Carmelites—Rev. Andrew O'Hara, Clarendon Street, Dublin.

Capuchins, a branch of Franciscans—Rev. Celestine Corcoran, Church Street, Dublin.

N.B. Of the Regulars in Ireland, there are 150 Parish Priests and Curates. Many others officiate in the parish chapels, and all assist the Secular Clergy. Their total number of every description does not exceed 400. That of the Secular Clergy does not exceed 1,400; all together are insufficient to comply duly with the various functions of their ministry. Many more are requisite for the instruction, &c., of a numerous and increasing population. The want of them at present is caused by the destruction of Irish Seminaries in France, Flanders, and Italy, since the French Revolution. Five hundred Clerical Students were educated in these different seminaries.

Dr. Troy to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, August 30, 1799.

Dr. Troy has the honour to Answer the following Queries proposed to him by the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh:

Q. 1. What is the precise mode in which the Catholic Bishops are appointed?—A. The Catholic Bishops receive canonical institution from the Pope. Without it they cannot be consecrated: such is the general discipline of the Catholic Church. In Ireland, the Catholic Bishops are usually

appointed at the instance and recommendation of the respective Prelates of the Province.

Q. 2. What is the gradation of church preferment from the Bishop to the parish Priest?—A. Each Bishop has one or more Vicars-General, who exercise his ordinary jurisdiction as delegated by him. The Priests are first employed as assistants or Curates to the parish Priests, and afterwards succeed them. A Dean and Prebendaries compose a Chapter in each diocese as in the Established Church, but exercise no jurisdiction in that capacity. They are generally parish Priests, and appointed by the Bishop, except the Dean, or first Dignitary, who is named by the Pope, at the recommendation of the respective Bishop.

Q. 3. What number of religious houses in each province?—A. Dr. Troy cannot at present exactly state the number of religious houses in each province. There are, he thinks, about one hundred in the kingdom, mostly in the cities and large towns.

Q. 4. Of what particular orders?—A. The religious orders in Ireland are Dominicans, Franciscans, including Capuchins, Augustinians, Carmelites, and two Trinitarians—Dominicans and Franciscans are the most numerous. The total number of Individuals composing these orders does not exceed 250.

Q. 5. By whom, and in what manner, are the principals and subordinate officers appointed, and their gradations?—A. The respective orders are governed by a superior called Provincial, elected by the seniors amongst themselves, every third or fourth year. Each religious house is governed by a Prior or Guardian, elected by the members of it when they are sufficiently numerous, or nominated by the Provincial. Many of the Regulars act as Curates to the parish Priests, and some of them are parish Priests. All of them assist the Secular Clergy by preaching, hearing confessions, visiting the sick, &c. The respective Bishops take cognizance of their public conduct. Without the license of the Bishop, they cannot

preach, hear confessions, or administer sacraments. In every respect they are constituted as in England.

J. T. TROY.

Queries to Dr. Troy.

October 25, 1800.

Q. 1. What are the Roman Catholic Bishoprics in each Province, and which of them are united, and what is the income of each See, and whence does it arise, and what are the commendams held with each?

Q. 2. What is the nature of the Chapter of each Diocese, and what stipends have the members of each Chapter as such?

Q. 3. What is the number of Deaneries in each Province, and what is their value, and how are their incomes made up?

Q. 4. What is the number of Roman Catholic benefices in each Province, distinguishing unions from single benefices, and what is the value of each benefice, and whence does the value arise, and what are the precise dues which form the value, and does the value so far arise from the greatness and population of the benefice as to show its relative real importance?

Q. 5. What are the number of Curates and coadjutors in each Diocese, and to what benefices do they belong, and whence do they derive their support, and are the Curates and Coadjutors Regulars or Seculars?

Q. 6. What is the number of Monastic Institutions in Ireland, and what number does each contain; and how are they supported, and what duties do they perform?

Q. 7. What is the number of the regular Priests in Ireland, distinguishing the orders and the number of each order?

Q. 8. By whom, and by what form of appointment or election are the Roman Catholic Metropolitans and Bishops constituted; by what form are the Deans constituted, the Prebendaries, the Rectors, Vicars, Coadjutors, and Curates in each Province?

Q. 9. What are the canons of discipline by which the Irish Roman Catholic Church is regulated?

Q. 10. What are the regulations with respect to their marriages, viz., who can marry, what qualifications are required, what consent of parents, what license, what dispensations are allowed, and how granted?

Q. 11. Has the Irish Roman Catholic Church any particular liberties (as the Gallican), and what are they, and is there any regulation as to the appeal to Rome?

Return to the Queries proposed by his Majesty's Ministers to the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, relative to the present state of their Church.

Dublin, November 29, 1800.

1. There are four Metropolitical Bishoprics in Ireland, which denominate the four Ecclesiastical Provinces into which its Roman Catholic Church is divided, viz., Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. In the Province of Armagh are the following Roman Catholic Bishoprics: Meath, Clogher, Raphoe, Dromore, Ardagh, Downe and Connor united, Derry, and Kildare and Leighlin united, Ferns and Ossory.

In the Province of Cashel, are Killaloe, Cork, Cloyne and Ross united, Limerick, Waterford and Lismore united, Ardfert and Aghadoe united, Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh united.

In the Province of Tuam are, Killala, Clonfert, Elphin, Achonry.

N.B. *Glandelough* is merged in the Metropolitan See of Dublin; Emly is united to that of Cashel; Kilmacduagh is in the Province of Tuam, though united with Kilfenora, which is in the Province of Cashel; Clonmacnoise is merged in the Bishopric of Ardagh; Galway and its district has a Warden and Vicars.

The income of each Bishopric, and the sources from which such income arises, will be stated in the particular return of each Bishop for his diocese.

The Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops hold the following commendams respectively:

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh has in commendam the parishes of Drogheda and Ferfeekin; the Bishop of Meath has Navan and Mullingar; of Clogher, Carrickmacross; Raphoe, Letterkenny; Dromore, Newry and Clonallon; Ardagh, Thurles, Bogger, Colry and St. Mary's, Athlone; Down and Connor, Downpatrick; Derry, Templemore, or City of Londonderry; Kilmore, Drunegoon, and Crosserlough.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin has in commendam the parish of St. Mary, in the City of Dublin, comprehending the present parish of St. Mary and the lately erected parishes of St. George and St. Thomas in the Established Church; Kildare, Tullow, and Mountrath; Ferns, St. Mary's, New Ross; Ossory, St. Mary's, in the City of Kilkenny and Ballyragget.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel has the parish of Thurles; Killaloe, Birr; Cork, St. Mary's Shannon and St. Anne's, both in the City of Cork; Cloyne and Ross, Glentworth; Limerick, St. John's, in the City of Limerick; Waterford and Lismore, Clonmel; Ardfert and Aghadoe, Killarney; Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh, Killmaetree, and Kinavera.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam has the parish of Tuam; Killala, Ballina, and Backs; Clonfert, Loughrea, and Tynagh; Elphin, St. Peter and St. Paul's, Athlone; Achonry, Kilmactiege. The Warden of Galway, St. Nicholas, Galway.

2. The Chapters may be considered as the Bishops' Council. The principal function they exercise in this Country is, on the vacancy of a See, to elect a Capitular Vicar for governing the diocese during said vacancy. The members of Chapters have no emolument as such.

3. In the Province of Armagh, there are nine deaneries,

each Bishopric having one except Meath, which, having no Chapter, has no fixed dignity but that of Archdeacon, and Downe and Connor having two.

In Dublin, five deanries, Kildare and Leighlin having two. In Cashel, nine, Emly having one. In Tuam, six deanries, Kilmacduagh having one. No Dean as such has any income.

4. There are no Roman Catholic benefices in Ireland except parishes. In the Ecclesiastical Province of Armagh, there are 350 parish Priests; in that of Dublin, 156; in Cashel, 314; in Tuam, 206; of these parish Priests, each administers districts composed of united parishes with few exceptions. The Unions generally arise from the relatively small number of Priests, and the inability of the people to support them. The respective value of each benefice varies considerably; and, in the *particular return* from each diocese mentioned before, it arises from the voluntary oblations and the stated contributions of the people. The precise dues consist in these stated contributions, usually received about Christmas and Easter, and in casual emoluments arising from marriage, purification, and mortuary fees; hence the value of each benefice so far in general depends on its greatness and population, as to show its relative real importance, although it frequently arises from the opulence or liberality of individuals.

5. The number of Curates or Coadjutors in each diocese, and the benefice to which each belongs, are specified in the return already mentioned. They are supported by a proportional share of the oblations and contributions in the parish, or by a certain salary given by the Parish Priest, or by both; some of them are Regulars, but they are mostly Seculars.

6. There are six monastic institutions, or orders, viz., Canons Regular, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites, and Capuchins; the number each contains is given in a particular return. Such as are not Parish Priests or Curates, are supported by the voluntary oblations of the people. They

are generally employed in assisting the Parochial Clergy in the functions of their ministry.

7. The number of the Regular Priests in Ireland, distinguishing the orders and the number of each order, will be found in the particular return mentioned in the last paragraph..

8. The Roman Catholic Metropolitans and Bishops are appointed by the Pope, usually at the recommendation of the Prelates of the province and the Clergy of the diocese. The Deans are appointed by the Pope, on the presentation of the respective Prelates. The Prebendaries, Rectors, Coadjutors, and Curates, throughout Ireland, are all appointed by the Bishops respectively.

9. The Irish Roman Catholic Church is regulated by the general Canons of the Church, particularly those of the Council of Trent.

10. The regulations with respect to marriage are those prescribed by the Council of Trent, except in the province of Dublin, the diocese of Meath, and wardenship of Galway; in which districts the decree of that council, annulling clandestine marriages, has not been as yet published, as required by the council to give it effect, although such marriages have been always, and are universally held, highly criminal. By clandestine marriages are understood marriages contracted between two Roman Catholics, without being sanctioned by the Parish Priest of one of the contracting parties, or of a Priest, licensed by him or by the Ordinary, and of two witnesses. All persons who have attained the age of puberty are capable of being married: it is required that they do not labour under any canonical impediment. The consent of parents, unless unreasonably withheld, is required to render the marriage licit, but not to its validity. Dispensations in such of the impediments as are of ecclesiastical institution, when sufficient motives are assigned, are occasionally granted by the Ordinaries as Delegates of the Holy See.

11. The Irish Roman Catholic Church has no particular

liberties (as the Gallican); there is no particular regulation in Ireland, as to appeals to Rome, such appeals being regulated by the general Canons of the Church.

J. T. TROY, R. C. Metropolitan of Dublin.
EDWARD DILLON, R. C. Metropolitan of Tuam.
RICHARD O'REILLY, R. C. Metropolitan of Armagh.
THOMAS BRAY, R. C. Metropolitan of Cashel.

For the Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Summary of a Correspondence with the Right Hon. Lord Hobart and Lord Viscount Castlereagh, on the subject of the Roman Catholic Clergy, &c., relating principally to Ireland, in the years 1799 *and* 1800.[1]

In attempting the civilization of the great mass of population in the kingdom of Ireland, nothing is likely to contribute so much to this desirable end as certain established regulations dictated by a wise and liberal policy in favour of the Roman Catholic Clergy.

Whether the views of the Imperial Parliament may be directed to extend the political privileges of the Catholics, or to confine them within the present limited toleration, certain regulations are necessary, no less for the convenience and eventual security of the established Government in Church and State, than for the credit and comfort of the Prelacy and Clergy of the Roman Communion.

A Noble Lord [Lord Hobart] who filled an office of the first State responsibility in Ireland, with distinguished credit to himself and benefit to the public, has candidly admitted that "this subject has never been considered in that enlightened view which its importance deserved."

[1] Though, in this paper, from the instructive pen of Sir John Coxe Hippisley, there are some slight repetitions from communications of his previously introduced, I have preferred giving it without mutilation.

In almost every country where the Christian Religion is professed, the Civil Magistrate interferes in the appointment of the superior clergy, and wisely so, as the power and influence inseparable from such appointments may be used to the welfare or destruction of the State.

The popular religion of Ireland is not the established religion, but its Pastors have an incalculable influence and control on the minds and habits of the people, and every attempt towards the civilization of the lower classes of the Roman Catholic communion must be fruitless, unless carried on with the concurrence of their Clergy.

The ordinances and regulations best adapted to this end will naturally be suggested by a view of the situation of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Great Britain and Ireland, as they now stand, after the last Acts made in favour of those professing that communion in either kingdom, in the years 1791, &c.; for it is presumed that no material regulations could be consistently made in the Imperial Parliament in favour of the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy exclusively, except in cases where their situation differs from those of Great Britain.

In England, the Act 31 of the present King, ch. 32, 1791-2, tolerates the erection of chapels, schools, &c.; the full exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion to all who shall have taken the qualified oath of allegiance therein prescribed; various Acts from the 1st of Elizabeth, inflicting pains and penalties, are repealed in favour of such persons; yet the 13th of Elizabeth, ch. 2, stands unnoticed, and of course unrepealed by that Act, and is still held out in terrorem even to Conformists under the Act of 1791-2.

By the 13th of Elizabeth, c. 2, sec. 3, "Any person who shall get from the See of Rome any bull, writing, or instrument, written or printed, containing any thing, matter, or cause whatever, shall be deemed guilty of High Treason." And the importation of beads, crosses, &c. &c., offering them to be

worn or used by any person, subjects the offender to the penalties of premunire; yet, bulls, writings, and instruments from the See of Rome are in various cases essential to the exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion, such as the renewal every third year of the extraordinary faculties granted to the British Roman Catholic Prelates officiating as Vicars Apostolic — for dispensations in cases of Matrimony within the second degree, and in a variety of other cases not necessary to enumerate, but which necessarily exist in conformity to the fundamental discipline of the Church of Rome.

Those who are alarmed at the possible encroachments of the See of Rome contend in favour of this Act of the 13th of Elizabeth, that it is the only barrier we have against the introduction of Papal Rescripts hostile to our constitution. Yet the prohibition in mass of all bulls, briefs, &c., from Rome, militates against the letter and spirit of the Act of 1791-2; for the exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion cannot be said to be tolerated, if anything essential to it is proscribed. But, in fact, the absurd severity of the Act of the 13th of Elizabeth has defeated itself (as unnecessary rigour ever does), and the result is, that we stand more exposed to the inroad of mischievous innovation from the See of Rome, whenever it may be disposed to exercise it, than if that law never had been enacted, or, in fact, than any other country in Europe, as humanity revolts from the execution of the law itself, and we have no alternative to qualify it. In England, therefore, it only operates against the Government, and great incidental embarrassment did actually result from the doubts upon the construction of that Act at a moment of the most serious importance, [1793,] when all communication with Rome was considered as prohibited. It does not appear that either in Scotland or Ireland (vide Appendix A.) such a prohibition exists, and certainly, both in Great Britain and Ireland, the importation of bulls, briefs, and other rescripts from Rome are in daily occurrence. The regulation naturally suggested by

this view of the case is sanctioned by the sound policy of other States, and offers a practicable and rational barrier against the introduction of exceptionable briefs and rescripts from Rome in the place of visionary guards and provisions, impracticable from their sanguinary tendency.

The privileges of the Gallican Church, ever watchful and jealous of the encroachments of Rome, depended principally on two maxims.

1st. That the Pope had no authority to order anything in general, or in particular, in which the civil rights of the kingdom were concerned.

2ndly. That, notwithstanding the Pope's supremacy was acknowledged in cases purely spiritual, yet, in other respects, his power was limited by the decrees of the ancient councils of the realm.

In 1482 the Supreme Council of Provence enacted that "No letters coming from foreign jurisdictions, though only in spirituals, should be executed without the ratification and registry of the court." And this practice was universally adopted by the Supreme Courts throughout the kingdom. Every bull, brief, &c. from Rome was presented, within a stated time, to one of the Courts of Parliament, where it was examined, lest it contained anything hostile to the privileges of the Gallican Church, or to the temporal rights of the Crown; it afterwards received what was called "L'Annexe," or the official certificate, and then became in force as a matter of mere Ecclesiastical regulation.

The Calvinistical Church of the United Provinces governed itself on similar principles, certainly not less jealous of the encroachments of Rome than the most scrupulous British Protestant. The appointment even of a Roman Catholic Curé was certified by the Arch-priest to the magistrate of the district, and, if objected to, another was appointed.

In adverting to this regulation in the United Provinces, a material oversight of the Act of 1791-2 of the British Parliament naturally occurs.

Any Roman Catholic Priest or Schoolmaster, who shall take the Oath prescribed by that Statute, may demand his enrolment by the clerk of the Sessions, who is required to give him a certificate as a licensed preacher, or teacher, without any reference to a testimonial of character from any superior of his own communion, or from his neighbours, &c.

The measures and regulations indicated as a corrective to the excess of caution, on the one hand, and the omission on the other, are—

1st. The repeal of so much of the Act of the 13th of Elizabeth, c. 2, as interdicts the receipt of bulls, briefs, &c., and the importation of crosses, beads, &c., from Rome, and enacting in lieu thereof,—That all such instruments from the See of Rome, or from any foreign authority, exercising, or pretending to exercise, any mandatory power within the imperial realm of Great Britain, &c., should, under the penalty of premunire, be delivered to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, within a stated time of its receipt, and by him, when thought necessary, should be laid before his Majesty in council, to which council such Prelates should be summoned as were of the council. If, on examination, the said instruments contained only the ordinary faculties or regulations of Roman discipline, they should be endorsed by the clerk in council, or any other proper officer, and returned to the person from whom they were received, as containing nothing contrary to the establishment in Church and State.

2ndly. That every Priest, Schoolmaster, or Schoolmistress, applying to be licensed, should, in addition to the Oath of Allegiance prescribed by the Act of 1791-2, produce a certificate from one or two respectable persons, avowing a personal knowledge of their character for a sufficient time, attesting that they believed them to be persons well attached to the civil constitution of the State, which certificate should be countersigned by a magistrate of the county or district, having also a

personal knowledge of the persons attesting, and in consequence of which certificate the magistrates in the General or Quarter Sessions might proceed to license such person or persons, unless it should appear that such certificate had been unduly obtained, or that other substantial reasons opposed the licensing such person or persons.

As the Law stands at present, the magistrates have no alternative, and any person, however notoriously disaffected to the Government, who scruples not to take the prescribed Oath, may insist upon being licensed. By these regulations, an obvious and unquestionable security results to the State, but, by blinking the subject, as we do at present, we tacitly allow the introduction of every sort of Papal Instrument, as well as the preaching and teaching of Catholic Priests and Preceptors, without availing ourselves of those safeguards which almost every Catholic, as well as Protestant, Government on the Continent has wisely instituted.

In England, the Ecclesiastical Government of the Roman Catholic subjects of his Majesty is delegated by the Pope to four Bishops *in partibus*, as his Apostolic Vicars. Each of these Vicars has a coadjutor appointed to succeed him in cases of death or removal.

In Scotland, two Bishops *in partibus* are appointed, with similar faculties, and each has also a coadjutor. The Apostolic Vicars exercise a jurisdiction only in countries where the Roman Hierarchy has been discontinued, as Bishops Ordinaries do in those countries where it has been preserved, and in the latter predicament Ireland, as to Spirituals, is considered. The Apostolic Vicars may be removed by the See of Rome at pleasure. The Bishops Ordinaries, once appointed, can only be removed for some great Canonical offence, proved upon them by process canonically instituted. Apostolic Vicars can, by their special faculties, suspend or remove the inferior Clergy at their pleasure; but Bishops Ordinaries, though they appoint the parochial Clergy, cannot suspend or remove them

but for Canonical offences, which also must be canonically proved.

Though the See of Rome, in the case of Apostolic Vicars, has no limitation in its choice, yet it is usual, in cases of a vacancy in England and Scotland, to receive from the resident Apostolic Vicars the names of three persons qualified for the charge, and the Pope appoints one of them.

In England this practice is attended with much intrigue and animosity, as is the case at this hour, on a vacancy in the Midland District, several lists having been sent to Rome by the clashing interests of their Clergy. It is usual in England that one of the Apostolic Vicars should be of the regular or conventual Clergy, and generally of the Benedictine Order. His district is usually the western, and his residence at Bath.

A measure of beneficial regulation is here also obviously indicated, viz.—"That the name of such persons as are recommended by the Apostolic Vicars to the See of Rome, noting their Ecclesiastical rank and place of education, should be previously submitted to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with the most ample testimonials in favour of their principles, and that the failure of such communication should subject the offender to such penalty as the Legislature may think fit to impose. The list containing such names to be returned within a stated time to the Apostolic Vicars approved, or with such observations as his Majesty's ministers may think suitable.

A wider field of discussion may at some future time arise with respect to the eligibility of the appointment of Titular Prelates in Ordinary in Great Britain, in the same manner as in Ireland.

Such a change might probably be opposed by the established Clergy of the realm, who might think that Bishops Ordinary, though merely titular, appointed with the concurrence of Government, might seem to trench upon the Established Church.

In Ireland, the same nominal Metropolitan and Suffragan Sees are preserved in either Communion. In England, it would be otherwise, as the Titular Sees or Districts of Bishops Ordinary might retain nearly the present names of the districts which are under the Roman Ecclesiastical Government of the Apostolic Vicars. The style of the Ordinaries might then be "Bishops of the Northern, Midland, Eastern and Western Districts," keeping clear of cities which are the Sees of the Established Church.

It certainly would materially contribute to the gratification of the British Roman Catholics, and would remove, at a still greater distance, the interference of foreign authority, by getting rid of all vicarial and delegated power from Rome, which might be extended to an excess of interference in many respects hostile to the constitution, the objects of delegation being wholly at the pleasure of the Pope—"ad nostrum et Sedis Apostolicæ bene placitum." Of this interference, the Governments of Edward III. and Richard II., which gave birth to the Statutes of Provisors and Premunire, were as jealous as the most rigid adherents of the Church Establishment of the present day.

It had been considered doubtful whether Rome would consent to limit her Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Great Britain to Titular Bishops Ordinaries, abandoning thereby the extensive powers delegated to the Apostolic Vicars. On this subject Sir John Hippisley, in the years 1794 and 1795, had repeated conferences with the Cardinal Antonelli, then at the head of the department which has the superintendence of the Missions. His Eminence assured Sir John Hippisley that no obstacle would be raised by Rome; but, on the other hand, Rome would not listen to the applications of the British Roman Catholics in favour of the change, unless countenanced at least indirectly by his Majesty's Government.

In the construction of some well-meaning Catholics, the powers delegated to Apostolic Vicars are incompatible with the

independent principles of their Protestation under the Act of 1791-2, and the security given to the State under that Act is consequently imperfect. The Vicars being mere agents of the See of Rome, have not the Canonical rights with which Bishops Ordinary are invested; they have no power to deliberate and consult whether they shall publish a Bull from Rome or not; they must obey, and in this respect possibly fall under the Statutes of Provisors and Premunire. If canonically published, the great majority of the Catholics hold such Bulls binding on their consciences: were the ecclesiastical superiors of the Roman Catholic communion Bishops Ordinaries, they would then have a Canonical power to receive or reject any Bull from the See of Rome which they deemed objectionable. The inferior clergy would also have redress in case of any uncanonical exertion of episcopal authority. In many instances, it is contended, and not without reason, that the exercise of the spiritual authority, as delegated to the Apostolic Vicars, has produced a civil effect, and trenches on Constitutional civil rights. The appeal is now only to Rome, to the same authority as is delegated, and the appeal to Rome is against law. It would be otherwise in the case of Bishops Ordinaries. In a word, the opposers of the authority of the Apostolic Vicars conceive that, having independent duties to perform, they require an independent Ecclesiastical Government within themselves, and in this respect to be at least on a footing with their fellow-subjects in Ireland of the Roman Catholic communion, where the prelates have, as far as regards Rome, all the Canonical rights of Bishops in Ordinary.

Though there has been much of political party in the disputes among the Catholics in England, and the opposition to the Apostolic Vicars is in many respects unreasonable, yet what is here stated may be fairly taken as a reasonable ground of discontent abstractedly, and it will become a deserved subject of consideration with his Majesty's Ministers how far Government may in future interpose. Dr. Douglas, the Apostolic Vicar of the London District, has often expressed his anxious

wishes to Sir John Hippisley, that the system was changed to Bishops Ordinaries, and thereby secured from the effects of any possible injurious interference of a foreign authority, and from a conflict between contrasted duties.[1]

In Scotland, it has been stated that the Ecclesiastical Government in the Roman Communion is, as in England, exercised by Apostolic Vicars.

In Ireland, as it has been observed, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is considered not to have been lost, but the prelacy retain in spirituals all the privileges annexed to Bishops Ordinaries. On a vacancy in any Titular Catholic See in Ireland, the Chapter of the particular arch-diocese or diocese selects a Vicar Capitular to govern the diocese *per interim*, and, having the right of postulation, they also recommend three of their clergy to the Pope, who refers their recommendation to the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, and their selection is generally adopted by the Pope, and ordination and confirmation granted accordingly. The Titular Deans of dioceses are appointed by the Pope on the recommendation of their respective diocesans, and a Papal Bull is expedited from Rome for that purpose. The Titular province of Armagh has eight suffragans; that of Dublin three; Cashel has seven, and the province of Tuam five suffragans, exclusive of the Warden of Galway. The Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland consists of Secular Priests, with an exception to Dr. Troy, Titular Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. McMahon, Titular Bishop of Killaloe, who are Dominican Friars, and Dr. McGuire, Titular Bishop of Kilmore, who is a Franciscan.

In considering the state of the Clergy of the Roman communion in Ireland, it is very material to attend to their distinction of secular and regular priests, which distinction much influences their interior government and conduct, and may

[1] The original mission of Monsignor Erskine was purely civil and complimentary to his Majesty; his later influence in spirituals has produced great discontent among the Roman Catholic clergy and laity.

occasionally have an influence on the general tranquillity of the State. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the regular or conventual clergy are, in many instances, employed as parochial priests and curates in Ireland, and the chief orders existing there are the Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Carmelites, and Augustines. The Capuchins are also of the reform of St. Francis, and the Franciscans and Dominicans by much the most numerous of the regular clergy in Ireland.

The distinction between the secular and regular clergy consists principally in the latter being professed, under strict vows of obedience, to the rules of their order and to their Generals. They are subdivided into Monks and Friars; the Monks being generally supported by permanent funds, while the Friars are professedly Mendicant, and exist by what is termed "Quest," in fact, begging, through the medium of their lay brothers, having no appropriate funds except the institution of Masses, in their respective convents.

The Franciscans (comprehending the Capuchins) are by far the most numerous of the regular clergy in Ireland, probably equal to the aggregate of all the other orders of Monks and Friars. They in general are composed of the lowest classes of the community, while men of the first families profess themselves in the several orders of Monks.

The Dominicans are also Mendicants, and rank next in proportion of numbers, and are allowed to possess funds, which is not permitted to the Franciscans and other Mendicant orders. Since the extinction of the Jesuits, they are considered as the most intriguing of the regular clergy, and the Inquisition (where it exists) is exclusively confided to their management, except at Rome, where it is merely nominal, and under the direction of a Congregation of Cardinals, with the Pope at their head.

Without attempting to investigate the comparative merits or demerits of any particular class, much less to condemn so large a body as the regular clergy in mass, it is sufficient to

know that the See of Rome has always considered them less qualified to exercise the functions of parochial clergy, than the secular priests. Many individuals will unquestionably be found of distinguished merit. Dr. Troy, the Titular Archbishop of Dublin, who is himself a Dominican, has published many valuable works and loyal pastoral addresses to his district, inculcating obedience to the laws, and ably opposing opinions which existed to the prejudice of the members of his communion, on the subject of their political principles.

As a general distinction, the Monks, or those classes of conventual clergy which are not Mendicant, may be considered as the best instructed and most orderly, particularly the Benedictines. On the other hand, the Franciscans, who are Mendicants, are not only the most numerous, but in general the most ignorant and disorderly, as we shall presently see from very high authority.

Sir John Hippisley, having access to the records of the College of *Propaganda Fide* at Rome, in his last residence there, made several extracts from a Memorial of Monsignor Cerri, which was drawn up by order of Pope Innocent XI., Anno 1677, and which relates to the conduct of the *regular* or conventual clergy when employed on missions, and particularly to their conduct in Ireland at a period when a greater proportion of their prelates were of that class.

Monsignor Cerri, who was Secretary of the College of Propaganda Fide, which receives the reports of all the foreign Roman Catholic clergy, of course was peculiarly qualified to give a fair representation of their conduct. If the conventual clergy in Ireland were so disorderly as Monsignor Cerri represents them at the period he wrote, we can well account in times of much greater laxity of morals for the facility with which many of that class were recently seduced into the most determined acts of Sedition and open Rebellion.

In a discussion upon this subject with the Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the College of Propaganda Fide, in 1794, his

Eminence expressed to Sir John Hippisley his disapprobation of the appointment of the regular clergy to the episcopacy, especially in Ireland, and that he considered it as a duty to resist such recommendations.

The appointment of Dr. Troy to Dublin was carried with difficulty, though strongly protected. No objection was taken to his character. He had studied at Rome, and was respected there, but the fact of his being a Dominican Friar was by many considered as a valid objection.

In the instance of Dr. Troy, as a Dominican, he is bound by an oath of obedience to the General of his order, a Spaniard, and residing in Spain, a circumstance which might eventually involve embarrassments of a very delicate nature. A reference to the correspondence with Lord Hobart and Lord Castlereagh (of which this Memoir is a summary), will prove that the *esprit de corps* is paramount in the regular clergy. That their differences with the secular clergy are almost irreconcilable, and that, on the last vacancy of the Titular See of Kilmacduagh, the recommendation to Rome was in favour of a Dominican,[1] though he refused the appointment, but which gave great umbrage to many of the secular prelacy.

Great embarrassment results also from the manner in which the Agencies are conducted at Rome. The prelates of the regular clergy appoint conventual Agents, Dominicans, Franciscans, &c.—the secular prelates secular Agents; these different classes are always at variance, to the great scandal of the country.

The extracts from the Memorial of Monsignor Cerri are annexed to this summary,[2] and the regulations submitted for consideration, as applicable to the nature of the case, will follow a few additional observations on the Education and actual State of the Roman Catholic Clergy of his Majesty's domi-

[1] Dr. Concanon, Agent to Dr. Troy at Rome, and Secretary to the General of the Order at the Minerva Convent of Dominicans.

[2] The extracts in question having been already introduced (see p. 109 in this volume) are, of course, not repeated.

nions. It was truly said by an English Roman Catholic author, expressing himself on this subject :—" We are brought up in a strange land, ignorant of the laws, manners, and customs (I had almost said of the language) of our native country; and, strangers to those with whom we are to live, we pass our time in struggling with the disadvantages of our Education." The most enlightened Roman Catholic prelates were impressed with the same conviction, and persevered, though fruitlessly, for more than twenty years, in their applications to the See of Rome to procure a reform in the National Colleges.

The English, Scotch, and Irish Colleges in Rome, are Pontifical Foundations, liberally endowed and appropriated to the Education of subjects who are destined to exercise the secular priesthood in the British dominions. These Colleges have each a Rector or Superior, who, with the management of the Revenues, is charged with the superintendence of the Education of the Students, subject to the control of the Cardinal Protector of each National College. The Cardinals Protectors are appointed by the Pope, and are not merely placed at the head of their respective Colleges, but have a sort of jurisdiction over the National Clergy in general; at least, they are the organs through which the National Agents prefer their suits to the different Councils and Tribunals of Rome.

Until the abolition of the order of Jesuits, it was the practice of the Cardinals Protectors to appoint English, Scotch, or Irish Jesuits Rectors of their respective National Colleges, but, from the period of the extinction of that order, Italian Rectors have been invariably appointed, the Revenues of the Colleges have been ill administered, and the education of the youth grossly neglected. Many British and Irish students were also received into the College of Propaganda, where their education was wholly under Italian preceptors. The education of the Regular Clergy is confined to their several convents at Rome, &c. There are both Dominician and Franciscan Convents wholly Irish.

The efforts of the National Secular Catholic Prelacy to pro-

duce a change in their Colleges had been resisted, till Sir J. Hippisley, being at Rome from the beginning of the year 1793 to the summer of 1795, and urged by the National Prelates of that Communion, had the good fortune to succeed in procuring this desirable reform, though great opposition was made by certain of the Cardinals Protectors, especially by Cardinal Livizzani, a man of a most violent, overbearing temper, and Protector of the Irish College.

The principle insisted upon by Sir J. Hippisley was that, although it was reasonable that Rome should be assured that the students were strictly educated in the dogma and discipline of her own communion, the British Government was entitled to equal security, that they should likewise be instructed in the principles of the civil constitution of their native country, in which they were destined to exercise their clerical functions. They had great duties of allegiance to acquit, and ignorance could not be accepted as an excuse for violating them. An education suitable to the condition of the students was not compatible with the guidance of foreign superiors, and the only security for a proper system of instruction was to be found in the appointment of National Rectors, competent to the high trust, and recommended by the National Prelates of the Roman Communion, who had themselves given the test of their allegiance to his Majesty by taking the prescribed oath, and who should be answerable as good subjects that the Rectors recommended by them should qualify their responsibility with the same test. The late Pope, in his candour, admitted this position to be incontrovertible, and at length overruled the struggle for patronage by ordering that National Superiors should, on this principle, thenceforth be recommended by their respective National Prelacy.

From the period of the abdication of King James the Second, the recommendation of Cardinals Protectors had been exercised by the representative of the House of Stuart. Sir J. Hippisley, on the death of the Cardinal Corsini, Protector of the

English Roman Catholic Clergy, ventured to state to the late Pope that a further adherence to this practice was ill suited to the returning harmony between Great Britain and Rome, and that it would be more decorous to accept the recommendation of the National Prelates of the Roman Communion in favour of their Cardinals Protectors. The Pope acquiesced in this suggestion, and two appointments of Cardinals Protectors took place during Sir J. Hippisley's last residence in Rome, on the recommendation of the agents acting for the National Clergy, and both in favour of Prelates who were impressed with a conviction of the propriety of this reform in the National Colleges.

The benefits to be derived from the College instituted in Ireland, at Maynooth, cannot but be sensibly experienced, but the foundation in Rome will always be viewed with partiality by the Clergy of the Roman Communion, as they conceive they derive some local advantages too material to be disregarded, and the only expense attending the education of the students is by their conveyance to and from thence, which is generally by sea.

When Dr. Moylan, the titular Bishop of Cork, whose character is so deservedly venerated by many Prelates of the Established Church, was in England last summer, Sir J. Hippisley suggested the idea of certain addenda to the ordinary Catechism of the Roman Communion, comprehending the civil and social duties of a good subject, as connected with the obligations of their religion. Such principles, early instilled into the minds of youth, when tender and susceptible of the best or worst impressions, promised a greater influence on the conduct of the lower classes than precepts and injunctions delivered occasionally from the pulpit, which but a small portion of that description of persons have a chance of frequently hearing, and still less of attending to, though their Catechism is taught universally, and the impression often durable.

This idea being approved by Dr. Moylan, Sir J. Hippisley addressed Dr. Troy to the same effect, and the proposition was

laid before the Roman Catholic Prelates, assembled some months since in Dublin, and unanimously adopted. The addenda were immediately incorporated with the common Catechism, and ordered to be universally taught as the only Catechism. Copies of the addenda were sent to Sir J. Hippisley, which he transmitted to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

When the subject of a Government provision for the Clergy of the Roman Communion was first in circulation, Dr. Troy represented to his agent in London, that doubts and difficulties had occurred to some of his colleagues on this head; such provision they considered might possibly produce less subordination than was consistent with the good government of the inferior Clergy, and it might countenance a popular contruction of the entire dependence of their Clergy on his Majesty's Ministers. It was apprehended also that Rome itself might be disinclined to such an arrangement. Dr. Troy, after stating these suggestions, expressed his wishes to be informed, "how this subject was felt by the Clergy of the Roman Communion in Great Britain."

Sir J. Hippisley, on the 8th January, 1799, addressed Dr. Troy upon this subject under a flying seal, through Lord Hobart and Lord Castlereagh, and had the satisfaction to find that his sentiments were approved by their Lordships, and made the impression he wished on Dr. Troy and his colleagues, to whom they were immediately communicated.

The instance quoted of the relief afforded by Government to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Scotland, and their grateful acceptance of it, had great weight with the Irish Roman Catholic Prelacy. The Apostolic Vicars of Scotland had repeatedly stated to Sir J. Hippisley the extreme distress of their inferior Clergy, which was daily producing emigration to America—the flock, in many cases, following their Pastor to the obvious injury of the State. In consequence of a representation made by Sir J. Hippisley to his Grace the Duke of Portland and Mr. Secretary Dundas, suitable relief was

granted, and the testimony of the Lord Advocate of Scotland in his correspondence with Sir J. Hippisley coincided with the declarations of the Apostolic Vicars (Dr. Hay and Dr. Chisholme) that a more acceptable service, both on public and private grounds, could not have been rendered. Pecuniary aid at the same time was granted to the two Scotch Catholic Seminaries, which are instituted under the best regulations.

The English Apostolic Vicars expressed also their sentiments in favour of an aid from Government in relief of their own Clergy, considering that the public interests and the comforts of those relieved were reciprocal. A provision for the Roman Catholics appears not only as highly decorous, but in a State view is consistent with sound policy; and the opinion of Dr. Adam Smith may have weight even with those whose apprehensions are alive to the spirit of proselytism, which actuates the Clergy of the Roman Communion. "In the Church of Rome" (Dr. Smith observes) "the Mendicant Orders derive their whole subsistence from the voluntary oblations of the people; it is with them as with the Hussars of some armies—no plunder, no pay; they are obliged, therefore, to use every art which can animate the devotion of the people."

"The establishment of the two great Mendicant Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, Machiavel observes, revived the languishing devotion of the Catholic Church. The established Clergy" (proceeds Dr. Smith) "reposing themselves upon their benefices, neglect to keep up the fervour of devotion in the great body of the people. Again, the independent provision, in many places made for dissenting teachers, seems very much to have abated the zeal and activity of those teachers." The whole of this chapter of A. Smith deserves attention, and will be found in his fifth book of the Wealth of Nations, under the head of "Institutions for the Instruction of the People."

The ordinances and additional regulations suggested in the Correspondence with the two noble Lords [Lords Hobart and

Castlereagh] before mentioned are the result of much reflection, under great local advantages of information. They appear adequate to guard against every possible inroad and usurpation, affording complete security to the establishment in Church and State, and in no respect militating against the discipline of the Roman Communion. Those relating to the Regular Clergy are pointedly justified by the authority quoted from Monsignor Cerri's Memorial, and the present state of a large proportion of that description of Clergy in Ireland strongly urges the propriety of adopting them.

Regulations.

1st. The communication of the Titular Prelates of the Roman Communion in Ireland with Government, when any specific measure is proposed by them, should be in writing, and this resolution should be communicated to each Titular Metropolitan, who should transmit it to his suffragans.[1]

2nd. Government should signifiy to each Titular Metropolitan that, in all lists of persons recommended to Rome as candidates for vacant Titular Bishoprics, such lists should in future contain the names of Secular Clergy only.[2]

[1] There is at present an obvious inconvenience exciting much jealousy in considering the Titular Archbishop of Dublin as the chief organ of communication with Government, especially as he is of the Conventual or Regular Clergy.

[2] In communicating this regulation, Government might intimate that it did not originate from any doubt of the loyalty of the Regular Clergy, and that the respectable Prelate who presided in the Titular Arch See of Dublin was a striking instance of zeal and attachment to the constitution, but, nevertheless, Government considered it more advisable that the Prelacy of the Roman Communion in Ireland should be all of the Secular Clergy, in fact, of one description of Clergy. The principle and practice of the See of Rome will justify this regulation. The Regular Clergy are never appointed to Bishoprics but under a particular dispensation, *ad hoc*, and very particular circumstances. There are certain popular Roman proverbs, intimating that the Regulars should confine themselves to the walls of their convents, and the Seculars to their flocks.

3rd. All lists of persons recommended for vacant Titular Sees or Deaneries, previous to their transmission to Rome, should be communicated to Government, with a reference to the clerical charge and residence of each person recommended.[1]

4th. Government should intimate, to the Titular Metropolitans, that it was desirable that the subordinate offices of the Roman Communion, such as Deans, Vicars-General, &c., the parochial charges of Priest and Curate, should also be filled by Secular Clergy.[2]

5th. The Titular Metropolitans should, with all possible expedition, make returns of the Suffragan Prelates and Clergy, within their respective provinces or districts, distinguishing their rank and destination, noting also whether Seculars or Regular, if the latter, of what order or community; noting also the length of time each person has officiated in his respective charge, and where educated.

6th. A return to be made of the number of convents, where situated, and how supported; the number of men and women professed in each; if Priests, whether employed out of the convent, and where employed, and the names of the Confessors particulars, both in the convents of men and women.

7th. To require the numbers and situation of the seminaries, or schools of the Roman Communion; the number of students, or scholars; the names of the Preceptors, and, if Clergy, whether Secular or Regular.

With the establishment of these regulations, the number of communicants might also be required, with the estimated

[1] By the Concordat between Francis the First and Pope Leo the Tenth, the King secured to the Crown the privilege which Rome had usurped of naming to all vacant Bishoprics, &c., leaving the formulary of collation only to Rome.

[2] How far this may admit of temporary modification, till the number of Regular Clergy diminish, or is extinct, may be for the consideration of Government. At any rate, great care should be taken in the selection of any of the Regular Clergy, especially of the Mendicant Orders, for such employment.

number of non-communicants in each district, particularly as the Roman Clergy are in the habit of keeping such accounts. A general estimate of the Catholic population, as well as of their religion, might be framed from such returns. These reports should be verified by the signature of each Titular Prelate, and be returned, through the Metropolitans, to the Public Secretary of the Government, or whatever other officer might be deemed most proper.

It may be worth consideration, whether an office should not be expressly instituted for the collection and arrangement of all information connected with the Roman Catholic subject exclusively.

In the present disturbed state of Ireland, there will be more difficulty in procuring accurate returns than hereafter; but the actual situation of the country offers a great motive for the inquiry. The returns should be made monthly, from the inferior Clergy to their respective Prelates, till they are complete, and every six months from their Metropolitans to Government.

Such regulations cannot but prove highly beneficial to the State, and facilitate future arrangements of great moment. Whenever disorder obtains in the country, Government will have the advantage of referring to records indicating the condition and local employment of the Roman Clergy, and commanding the readier means of pursuing the inquiries which are indicated.

It may become a subject of consideration whether the regulations suggested in the preceding Summary, with respect to the introduction of bulls, briefs, &c. from Rome, should not be extended to all mandatory letters from the Generals of the several communities of regular Clergy and religious, male and female, whether addressed to those communities in the aggregate, or to individual Monks, Friars, or religious; such mandates always exacting implicit obedience from the professed, and the Generals of the Orders living not merely in foreign countries, but, as

at present, certain of them residing in States under the influence of governments and in actual hostility to our own. Information injurious to the public interests has often been conveyed under such influence; nor is it the greatest evil which may be apprehended from such an unconstitutional combination.

The Memorial of Monsignor Cerri is, as has been noted, a pointed comment on the operation of those vows of implicit obedience to the Generals of Orders, and the embarrassments resulting from it, even to Rome itself.

It is observed, in the preceding part of this Summary, that the prohibitory statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, ch. 2, from its extreme rigour, defeats itself, and is only operative against the government it affects to protect.

Concurrent with the great arrangements connected with the Union, a virtual pledge is considered to have been given that the Catholic subject shall be maturely considered. A fair opportunity now presents itself to institute the inquiry which must necessarily lead to arrangements of a wise and liberal policy. Embarrassed as the subject may appear to those who have viewed it only superficially and obscurely through the mist of prejudices, which have clouded it for more than two centuries (during which an avowed State intercourse with Rome has been deemed unconstitutional), it is by no means difficult for those acquainted with the principles and usages of the Roman Government, and the real tenets and discipline of the Roman Communion, to suggest a practical and inoffensive system, at once embracing the peace and security of the State.

Our Legislature may now safely tread the middle path, "rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars," &c., in the true spirit of the injunction, deliberately and correctly appreciating what we are in justice to grant, and what in prudence to retain. It was said in Parliament, by a gentleman holding a considerable office in the Government, "that if the Union with Ireland does not take place, it may be necessary to

re-fortify the Protestant ascendency, by reviving the old Penal Code against Catholics."

In a dispassionate view of the nature of the case, no possible event can ever call for such rigorous expedients: let us rather atone for the sanguinary spirit and errors of our ancestors, by substituting a more rational and effectual barrier. The lofty bastions and menacing batteries, projected by the State engineers of Elizabeth, are ill adapted to the tactics of later times. To command a greater range, they improvidently took their level too high, and in fact exposed the venerable walls of our Constitution to be sapped and undermined, while they fallaciously estimated their security in an imaginary inaccessibility.

In every view of sound policy, the repeal or modification of the statute 13 Elizabeth, ch. 2, seems indispensable; the letter of that statute being hostile to all intercourse between Rome and Great Britain.[1] "Every writing or instrument gotten from the Bishops of Rome, containing any thing, matter, or cause whatever," by the 3rd section of that Act, subjects the receiver to the penalties of high treason.

It has been said, that this Act is virtually repealed, in favour of such Roman Catholics as take the oath prescribed by 31 George III., ch. 32; and, unless it be so, the toleration held out is illusory and fraudulent. Catholics, we have observed, must have recourse to Rome in various instances; but why leave this fulminating Act in force against any person in these times? few are disposed to risk a doubtful clemency. Some recent occurrences will sufficiently expose the awkward shifts to which we have been driven, and the incidental embarrassments and contradictions, in a State view, which have resulted from declining an avowed official intercourse with Rome.

In the year 1793, Pius VI. addressed a letter to the King, expressing his gratitude for the protection afforded to Italy, and the asylum granted to the persecuted French Clergy.

[1] Quere Scotland?—vide Appendix A.

This letter was expedited in charge of one of the Prelates of his household; but the bearer was informed, on his arrival, that it could not be consistently received by his Majesty.

Letters were, at the same time, addressed to certain of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in Great Britain, who scrupled not to receive them in the face of the 13th Elizabeth.

Letters were also written to the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, commanding them to announce to those who had been seduced from their allegiance, how much they had incurred the indignation of their Spiritual Father, and how zealous he was to contribute every thing in his power to the support of his Majesty's Government.

James I. did not scruple, after his accession to the throne of England, to address the Pope Gregory, soliciting his interference with the belligerent powers. He sent a British subject, specially accredited to Rome, and negociated directly with the Pope the marriage of the Infanta of Spain with the Prince of Wales.

Upon the arrival of Lord Hood's fleet in the Mediterranean, his Majesty's ministers in Italy considered themselves precluded from applying directly to the government of Rome for supplies, which could not be obtained to the desired extent from any other State. It was thought advisable to solicit the intervention of a private individual, unaccredited, to effect the object. He scrupled not to apply to the Sovereign Pontiff, and succeeded, persuaded that any constructive prohibition of State policy in such a case was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. He had afterwards the gratification to find that the King's Cabinet Ministers approved his conduct; and his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, in a letter addressed to Sir J. Hippisley, expressed himself in the following words: "The motives which induced you to act in the manner you did cannot be mistaken, and the consequences of the steps taken by you upon this important occasion will, I am persuaded, be of material

advantage to his Majesty's service." This opportune service was as liberally acknowledged by Lord Hood, in his letters to Government.

In consequence of this application, supplies in grain for 12,000 men for three months, together with a large quantity of cattle, were immediately obtained from the Roman Government—the Pope remitting all duties thereon, ordering it to be delivered on the coast at a price near 40 per cent. under that of the market, by which a saving of not less than 30,000 crowns upon that single transaction accrued to Government. The resources of Rome, thus opened, were afterwards resorted to by the agents of the fleet, during the whole time it continued in the Mediterranean, with great obvious advantages.

Lord Minto, when Plenipotentiary in the Mediterranean, felt the necessity of applying indirectly through the same channel to the Sovereign Pontiff, for an asylum for the Toulonese under the English protection. In this negociation difficulties naturally occurred with respect to the ultimate responsibility attaching to their maintenance, upon which Sir J. Hippisley was authorized by his Lordship to announce to the Roman Government, "That every thing promised in the correspondence" [with Sir J. Hippisley] "would be ratified and performed on the part of the British Government, and that the public faith was pledged in effect, whether it was formally so or not."

This negociation with Rome was succeeded by others, through the same medium, on the authority of the Viceroy of Corsica, for enlisting foreigners on British pay, within the Roman territory, and for the supply of gunpowder and other objects; nevertheless, Government considered themselves withheld from the appointment of any person officially accredited to the Court, with which our necessities constrained us from day to day to negociate.

On the establishment of the British Government in Corsica, communication and concert with the See of Rome in Spirituals

was specially instituted, but the intercourse between the Courts of London and Rome still continued in the same state of constructive prohibition. In the appointments of bishops in the conquered Catholic colonies,[1] Government felt the embarrassment, and obliquely endeavoured to obviate it.

Other Protestant States have acted upon a more enlarged and consistent policy with respect to Rome. Russia, Prussia, Sweden, &c., had each their resident or Consuls General, both for the convenience of their Catholic subjects, and the general interests of their respective States. Great Britain cannot be said to possess less than five millions of Catholic subjects, including the colonies; and, in a commercial view also, the Ecclesiastical States are not less deserving the attention of our Government.

This Summary will present a view of this important question in many respects different from what has ever yet been exposed to the attention of Government or of the Legislature. The errors of writers on the subject of Rome are as multiplied as their pages; and, while coarsely inveighing against Rome for tenets and practices long since abandoned and disavowed, none appear to be aware of the vulnerable parts where the peace and security of the State can ever be exposed to injury. The gross misrepresentations of a Dr. Duigenan and a Dr. Sturges are calculated only to excite discontent and animosity, and the Speakers in both Parliaments, who have turned their attention most to this subject, have never yet touched upon the points of distinction in which the true policy of the question seems concentrated. Nothing is advanced in this Summary or in the correspondence with the noble Lords [Hobart and Castlereagh,] but what is the result of much reflection and many years' experience under great local advantages. Many circumstances of great delicacy and importance, and which are necessary to be adverted to when this subject is acted upon, are at present suppressed, but will be submitted to his Majesty's ministers at

[1] St. Domingo.

their command. The errors, inconsistencies, and serious State embarrassments which have resulted from the want of adequate and unprejudiced information, and from the very partial consideration this important question has hitherto received, are too obvious to be further insisted on.

The late Mr. Burke, who is well known to have devoted much attention to this subject, in a letter addressed to Sir J. Hippisley at Rome, in October, 1793, thus expresses himself: "I confess I would, if the matter rested with me, enter into much more distinct and avowed political connexions with the Court of Rome than hitherto we have held. If we decline them, the bigotry will be on our part, and not on that of his Holiness. Some mischief has happened; and much good has, I am convinced, been prevented by our unnatural alienation. If the present state of the world has not taught us better things, our error is very much our fault.

"This good correspondence could not begin more auspiciously than in the person of the present Sovereign Pontiff [Pius VI., 1793], who unites the royal and sacerdotal character with advantage and lustre to both. He is indeed a prelate whose dignity as a Prince takes nothing from his humility as a Priest, and whose mild condescension as a Christian Bishop, far from impairing, in him exalts the awful and imposing authority of the secular Sovereign."

Impressed with the same conviction, an elevated Prelate, [Bishop of Winton] whose noble family has been distinguished for their attachment to the Established Church, communicated his sentiments also to Sir J. Hippisley, nearly at the same period, in the following words: "I have perused the papers you communicated through Sir W. Hamilton. As to open communication between Great Britain and the Pope, it is much to be wished, and never more so than at present, when the piety, humanity, and liberality of Pius VI. present him to us as a Prince whose friendship is an honour, and whose communication, political or private, carries everything with it

that is virtuous, sincere, and good: such a communication is in character for both countries, and especially for Princes, respectively the heads of their several religious establishments. As to the laws to which you allude, I believe there is but one opinion respecting the illiberal spirit of them, and the wisdom of relaxing in their enforcement. The occasion of them is removed, and, without the occasion, it is difficult to justify them."

Lord Minto, on the eve of the settlement of Corsica, in the year 1794, declares his opinion to Sir J. Hippisley as follows: "I feel also that the daily intercourse with the Roman State must soon be found irreconcilable with the nominal and formal estrangement between the two Courts, which is enjoined by the subsisting laws. The accomplishment of our Corsican views may therefore furnish a natural opportunity, since it will afford a real and rational ground, amounting, indeed, to something like a necessity, for liberating ourselves thus much further, for polishing off this remaining barbarism, and, since the spirit of the statute has been dead long ago, for killing the letter, too. We have sent for the regiment of Dragoons from Civita Vecchia, but we remain not the less indebted to the friendly and seasonable hospitality by which Pius VI. stands distinguished in Italy, both for the steady and faithful attachment to England, and for manliness with regard to the common enemy."

The venerable Pontiff so justly entitled to these eulogies is no more: but the character of his successor has a claim to our respect, and his sentiments in favour of the British nation may be collected from his own expressions in a letter to Sir J. Hippisley, written soon after his elevation to the Pontifical chair.

Extract of a Letter from his Holiness, Pius VII., to Sir J. Hippisley.

San Giorgio, Venice, May 10, 1800.

And as the above-mentioned glorious Sovereign Pontiff (whose authority is of the greatest weight with us, his creature,[1]

[1] The present Pope was created a Cardinal by Pius VI.

and to whom we are bound by the strongest and sweetest ties of veneration, affection, and gratitude), has given so many and such manifest proofs of the high esteem he entertained for the generous English nation, and of its magnanimous and just Government, and was ever so solicitous to cultivate harmony and friendship, and also to demonstrate to that nation, on all occasions, his most lively attachment—we also, pursuing the same steps, will equally make it our study to preserve, with jealous care, the same reciprocal good intelligence and union: and we will not suffer (as far as lies in our power) that England should find seated in the Pontifical chair of Rome another Pontiff differing from him who so invariably acknowledged the kindness and friendship that England entertained for him. With respect to yourself, we shall ever take pleasure in proving to you our invariable sentiments on all occasions that may present themselves; and we remain, with the most distinguished consideration, &c.,

PIUS P. P. VII.

It would have been strictly an act of justice to the late respected Sovereign Pontiff (whose partiality for the British nation was recorded a crime) to have stated more at large the benefits derived from the friendly intercourse with Rome, commencing with the year 1793. Those, with many other considerations of a political and commercial nature, will probably have place in a future continuation of these notes, especially as the sentiments of the two noble Lords [Hobart and Castlereagh] successively in the administration of the Government of Ireland, in favour of the communications from which they are principally drawn, offer the strongest encouragement to extend them.

No attempt is herein made to enter into the question of a general extension of civil rights to the Catholics, under the presumed safeguard of the Union. The object is rather to advert to the disadvantages which Government must experience

while the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the British empire remains in its present state, as also the benefits of an avowed and the possible danger of a clandestine intercourse with Rome in a view strictly constitutional.

If the Act of the Union never had passed, and if the principles of Roman Catholics were really such as have been stated by their adversaries, it is contended that the regulations proposed in these pages, or something analogous to them, ought to be adopted in deference to the establishment in Church and State. It may be considered as an allowable egotism upon this occasion to adduce a few of multiplied authorities in support of assertions which might otherwise be considered as presumptuously hazarding. The friendly habits long since established between the ministers of the Roman Government and Sir J. Hippisley, during repeated residences of many years at Rome, with the advantage of local family connection, are combinations strongly in favour of the correctness of his information, and insured an influence which may still further be usefully directed. With these authorities this Summary will be concluded.

No. 1.—Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton, K.B., his Majesty's Envoy, &c., at the Court of Naples to Sir J. Hippisley.

Naples, July 13, 1793.

What you did in taking upon you to negotiate with the Pope was certainly well judged. I should have been greatly distressed if Lord Hood's fleet had come here a month ago, for we had not a sufficiency of corn for ourselves, &c.

No. 2.—Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. John Trevor, his Majesty's Envoy at Turin, to Sir J. Hippisley.

Turin, July 27, 1793.

Your country, sir, cannot but be grateful for your exertions at Rome, and the firmness and dignity of the Pope's conduct must justly entitle him to our respect and protection.

No. 3.—Extracts of Letters from the Right Hon. Lord Hood, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, to Sir J. Hippisley.

Victory, Toulon Road, October 7, 1793.

You were very good in anticipating my wants. In addition to my fleet, I have now to provide for 10,000 troops and all the inhabitants of Toulon, not one of which, I believe, has tasted animal food for several weeks. In all my letters home, I have expressed how much I felt myself obliged to the Pope for the readiness which his Holiness manifested in furnishing me with whatever his dominions would afford.

No. 4.—Dated Victory, Toulon Road, October 19, 1793.

As the enemy has cut off the water from all the mills, the inhabitants of Toulon are in great want of flour, which leads me to desire that you will have the goodness to cause this circumstance to be made known to the Pope, with my earnest and humble request that his Holiness will be pleased to grant permission to import from Civita Vecchia as much flour as can be spared.

No. 5.—Extract of a Letter from Adjutant-General Sir James St. Clair Erskine, K.B., to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Bastia, May 25, 1794.

I must entreat you to avail yourself of the most favourable opportunity to return thanks in my name and that of the regiment to his Eminence the Cardinal di Zelada, for the very flattering manner in which he has expressed himself in notifying the high and honourable mark of distinction which the partiality of his Holiness to the English nation, and his gracious condescension for the officers of the 12th Light Dragoons, have induced him to bestow upon them. It is impossible for me to find expressions that can do justice to our sentiments, and I can only beg that his Holiness will be assured that we shall never cease to entertain the most lively remembrance of the protection and kindness we have received, &c.

No. 6.—Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton, K.B., his Majesty's Envoy, &c., at Naples, to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Caserta, April 14, 1795.

I am sorry that your private affairs should call you from Italy at so interesting a crisis, when the continuance of your patriotic and disinterested exertions, which have already been of so much public benefit, might still materially contribute to the advantage of his Majesty's service. I have great satisfaction in expressing my personal obligations for your constant and useful communications, and I can say with truth that their Sicilian Majesties and their Ministers are not less impressed with the value of your communications and of your zeal and ardour to promote the common cause, &c.

No. 7.—Extract of a Letter from his Excellency the Viceroy of Corsica to Sir J. Hippisley.

Bastia, May 22, 1795.

If you are still at Rome, your departure seems so near that I need say nothing of business, farther than thanking you most sincerely and cordially for all the assistance you have on many occasions given me, and all the labour, which has been immense and indefatigable, you have bestowed on this as well as other interests of the public. You carry with you the praise of industry and zeal beyond most, if not all, public men. I shall be ever of opinion, and have often expressed it, that you have laid in a stock of public merit, which cannot, because it ought not to be unproductive, &c.

No. 8.—Official Note of Monseigneur Barberi, Secretary of the Congregation of State, to Sir J. Hippisley, in the name of the said Congregation.

Chambers of the Vatican, May 26, 1795.

Instruite du prochain départ de M. Hippisley, de cette capitale pour Londres, la Sacrée Congrégation d'Etat a cru que la justice et la bonne foi demandoient qu'à l'exemple du Saint

Père lui-même, qui lui a donné les plus éclatantes preuves de la satisfaction qu'il avoit de la conduite qu'il a tenue, soit en particulier, soit en traitant diverses affaires très graves—la Sacrée Congrégation lui fit offrir aussi en son nom un témoignage permanent de la sienne.

Elle m'a chargé à cet effet, en qualité de son secrétaire, d'assurer M. Hippisley de l'admiration sincère avec laquelle elle a vu la souveraine integrité, le zéle, la loyauté, et la perspicacité, qu'il a fait éclater dans ces négociations, et la manière dont il a heureusement réussi à faire connoître et procurer les communs intérêts des deux nations, et à établir une bonne harmonie entre la Cour de Rome et la Cour Britannique. Monsieur Hippisley peut juger par là combien tout ce qu'il a fait a été agréable à la Sacrée Congrégation, quelle profonde reconnoissance elle fait profession d'avoir pour lui, et avec quelle juste confiance elle espére que partout, et dans toutes les occasions, il voudra bien continuer à agir d'après les mêmes principes, et chercher à resserrer toujours plus les liens de réciproque intérêt et de correspondance amicale, qui unissent aujourd'hui les deux dites Cours et les deux nations.

En m'acquittant par ce respectueux billet du devoir qui m'a été imposé par la Sacrée Congrégation, je regarde comme un bien grand avantage pour moi de pouvoir y joindre l'hommage des sentimens de profonde estime et de l'invariable dévouement avec lesquels je fais profession d'être de l'incomparable M. Hippisley,

Le très humble, très sincère, et dévoué serviteur,

GIO. BARBERI.

A M. Hippisley, Membre du Parlement Brittannique.

TRANSLATION.

Chambers of the Vatican, May 26, 1795.

Informed of the approaching departure of Mr. Hippisley from this capital for London, the Sacred Congregation of State has conceived that justice and good faith required that, after the example of the Holy Father himself, who has conferred on him the most striking proofs of

the satisfaction which he felt at the conduct which he had held, both in private and in negociating divers important matters, the Sacred Congregation should cause also a permanent testimony of its own to be presented to him in its name.

Accordingly, it has charged me, in quality of its Secretary, to assure Mr. Hippisley of the sincere admiration with which it has witnessed the sovereign integrity, the zeal, the probity, and the perspicacity which he has displayed in those negociations, and the manner in which he has happily succeeded in explaining and promoting the common interests of both nations, and in establishing good harmony between the Court of Rome and the British Court. Mr. Hippisley may thence judge how agreeable all that he has done has proved to the Sacred Congregation, what deep obligation it professes to feel to him, and with what just confidence it hopes that, everywhere and on all occasions, he will be pleased to continue to act upon the same principles, and strive to knit more and more closely the ties of reciprocal interest and of friendly correspondence, which now unite the two said courts and the two nations.

In acquitting myself by this respectful note of the duty which has been imposed upon me by the Sacred Congregation, I consider it as a very great advantage to be able to join with it the homage of the sentiments of profound esteem, and of the invariable devotion with which I profess myself to be the incomparable Mr. Hippisley's

Most humble, most sincere, and devoted servant,

GIO. BARBERI.

The reiterated declarations and acts of the late Venerable Sovereign Pontiff[1] in his correspondence with Sir J. Hippisley might have been here adduced. The grant of the Civic Armorial Ensigns of Rome notified with his own hand to Sir J. Hippisley, was one of the distinguished proofs he had the honour to experience of his favour and confidence—a concession without example to a Protestant, and of which no instance occurs since the thirteenth century.

[1] Mr. Pitt (3d of February, 1800), speaking of the outrages offered to Pius VI. by Joseph Buonaparte, adds—"A transaction accompanied by outrages and insults towards the Venerable Pontiff, in spite of the sanctity of his age and the unsullied purity of his character, which, even to a Protestant, seems hardly short of the guilt of sacrilege."

The preceding official act of the Congregation, or Council of State, sufficiently recognises the sentiments of the Sovereign and his Ministers. The functions of that Congregation were analogous to those of the British Cabinet. It consisted of the Cardinal Secretary of State, and six other Cardinals, chiefs of the principal departments of the Roman Government, several of whom individually[1] also addressed Sir J. Hippisley, to the effect of the aggregate act of the Congregation.

With this document the present Summary is concluded.

September 8, 1800. J. C. HIPPISLEY.

Appendix A.

In the 5th page of the preceding Summary, speaking of the prohibition of bulls, briefs, &c., created by the 13th Eliz., c. 2, it is observed, "that it does not appear that either in Scotland or Ireland such a prohibition exists."

The statute of Elizabeth, made before the Union, it is presumed, does not extend to Scotland, but it may be obligatory on Ireland. Lord Coke 4, Inst. 351, reciting Poyning's Law, 10 Hen. VII., says, "that Acts of Parliament made in England since that time, whenever Ireland is not particularly named or generally included, extend not thereunto."

The English prohibitory statute of 13 Eliz., c. 2, has the words, "any place within this realm, or in any of the Queen's dominions," (which sweeping words were not noticed in the original correspondence from which the preceding Summary is compiled)—under these words it is submitted this act[2] may be held to be obligatory on Ireland. That it has never been extended to Scotland is pretty strong evidence against the necessity of the law, and that it is worse than obsolete and useless may be clearly collected from the preceding pages.

[1] Cardinal Secretary of State, Cardinal Albani, Cardinal Campanelli, Cardinal Gordel.

[2] This must depend upon the enumeration of the several Acts contained in the Act 23 Geo. III.

Sir J. Hippisley will take the liberty of quoting the words of an eminent advocate, (Mr. Plomer) one of his Majesty's Council, upon this subject. Speaking of the correspondence with the late Pope, and the documents which were transmitted to England by Sir J. Hippisley to his Majesty's Ministers, "Is it not (said he) a maximum of absurdity that, under this law, your benevolent and patriotic exertions, by which the British fleet was so materially assisted in a time of need, might have subjected you to an accusation of high treason, and his Majesty's Ministers (who wisely and justly gave you the thanks of your country for your conduct) to a *præmunire* as accessories after the fact?"

The Act of 31 Geo. III., c. 32, certainly leaves the intercourse, &c. with Rome in the same state as before the passing of the Act. The proceedings in the case of Lord Castlemain (State Trials, 1 Will. III.) are much in point, and worth observation.

Judge Blackstone, after apologizing for the severity of these laws from the history of them, and the urgency of the times which produced them, adds—"But if a time should ever arrive, and perhaps it is not very distant when all fears of a Pretender shall have vanished, and the power and influence of the Pope shall become feeble, ridiculous, and despicable, not only in England, but in every kingdom of Europe, it probably would not then be amiss to review and soften these rigorous edicts, at least till the civil principles of the Roman Catholics called again upon the Legislature to renew them; for it ought not to be left in the heart of every merciless bigot to drag down the vengeance of these occasional laws upon inoffensive though mistaken subjects, in opposition to the lenient inclinations of the civil magistrate, and to the destruction of every principle of toleration and religious liberty."

No one can doubt but the period is now arrived which is described by Mr. Justice Blackstone, nor is the authority slight, when we consider who the author of these sentiments

was, and the character and place in which he published them. It is not unfair to consider the learned professor as uttering the sentiments of the great university to whom his lectures were addressed.

III.—MANUFACTURES, FINANCES.

Mr. Alexander Hamilton to Lord Castlereagh, on the Cotton Manufacture of Ireland.

Sidmouth, February 25, 1800.

My Lord—The necessity for my calling to your recollection at the present moment the subject on which I am about to trouble you will, I trust, induce you to pardon me for intruding so far upon your time. Some time ago, when I had the honour of waiting on you at the desire of a great number of persons concerned in the cotton trade in the county and neighbourhood of Dublin, your Lordship was pleased to assure me that every protection that branch of trade now enjoys should be secured to it by the articles of Union for a number of years to come, in consequence of which I was enabled to relieve the persons who applied to me from the apprehensions they entertained, and they became in a great degree reconciled to the measure in contemplation, and have therefore declined importuning Government or Parliament by petitions on the subject.

By the articles of Union, as stated, they find no provision is made to maintain, even for a limited time, the present duty per yard on calicoes imported, in consequence of which, an alarm prevails throughout that, to throw our market open to Great Britain, the annihilation of this most important branch of the cotton trade, the only one that has succeeded to any extent in Ireland, is intended. You will permit me to observe that I have no doubt their fears are well founded, as, when your Lordship has leisure to go at large into the subject, I am confident you will be convinced that, from a variety of causes which must long continue to operate, calicoes can be imported on an average at five pence per yard less than they can be

manufactured for in Ireland, independent of the present duty; the reduction of which will, therefore, ruin this branch of trade that now employs such numbers at Belfast, at Balbriggan, in Dublin, and in Cork, and by which a sum of £250,000 is retained in the kingdom, the amount formerly sent out for this article. I have most unwillingly been guilty of this trespass upon your time, but, from the confidence placed in me by those at whose desire I applied to your Lordship on the subject, I think it incumbent on me to remind you of the assurances which I had the honour to receive from you, and which I conceived myself authorized to repeat to them.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Lord Donoughmore to Lord Castlereagh. (Enclosing a letter from Mr. Edward Clarke, on the Cotton Trade.)

February 24, 1800.

My dear Lord—Allow me to submit the enclosed letter from Mr. Clarke to your Lordship's perusal. The writer is a very respectable gentleman in the cotton trade, residing at Palmerston, and who holds land from me there. This will excuse me to you for giving you the trouble. He is also a very active, useful magistrate. Indeed, I fear his apprehensions will prove too well founded, if the protection is withdrawn which has hitherto nursed this infant manufacture.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DONOUGHMORE.

Merchants' Quay, February 21, 1800.

My Lord—Understanding that it is your Lordship's wish to know the sentiments of the cotton manufacturers, calico printers, &c., on the consequence of the repeal of the protecting duties on that branch of business by the intended Union, and, being unfortunately prevented by a severe indisposition from doing myself the honour of personally attending your Lordship, I take the liberty of thus addressing you on that sub-

ject, and beg leave to state that, encouraged by the Parliamentary aids and protecting duties granted in support of the cotton manufacturing and printing business in this kingdom, I early engaged a very large capital in that business, and established it on a most extensive scale at Palmerston, in the county of Dublin, and was the first person that gave it extent and respectability in this kingdom, by adopting the best modes used by Messrs. Peel and other extensive manufacturing and printing houses in Great Britain—that I have, from the commencement of said establishment to the present time, not only expended the sum of £20,000 and upwards, but also devoted my time and abilities in the extension and improvement of said business, and have now brought it to that degree of perfection, as to have given me every reason, till the proposition on the question of Union was brought forward, to hope that I should not only be amply compensated for all my exertions and expenditure, but that it would become an object of national utility by giving constant employment, as it does at present, to upwards of one thousand persons, men, women, and children.

That, notwithstanding my warmest wishes for that close and necessary connexion with the sister kingdom, and, convinced by the advantages that must eventually accrue to this country, as is so ably pointed out by your Lordship, I cannot avoid candidly informing your Lordship that it is my humble opinion that, if the present protection is not continued to these manufactures, it will be impossible for me or any other manufacturer in this kingdom to contend with the accumulated wealth and experience of Great Britain, so as even to preserve the supply of our home consumption.

These, my Lord, are my humble sentiments on the subject, and I trust to your Lordship's and the Government's liberality, that my well derived hopes of compensation from my long exertions may not prove fallacious, and that a large body of industrious and deserving people, a great part brought up under me in that business, whose industry and peaceable

demeanour during the late rebellion was peculiarly conspicuous, (for the truth of which I would refer your Lordship to Mr. Secretary Cooke, whom I had the honour of attending in my official character, as magistrate, during that unfortunate period) may not be reduced to poverty and want, which must inevitably ensue from withdrawing the protecting duties, which alone called forth their industry, and enabled us to bring that great branch of manufacture and national utility to the very promising state it has now arrived at.

Mr. Wallace to Lord Castlereagh, on the Cotton Trade.

Lisburn, March 3, 1800.

My Lord—I beg leave to address your Lordship on the subject of the Cotton Trade of Ireland at this period, when new arrangements will undoubtedly take place between this kingdom and England. Should the Cotton Trade be left unprotected, and the encouragement at present granted be taken away, it would totally destroy the spinning and manufacturing branches in Ireland, particularly in the calico line, on account of the price of coals alone, and as England could send them and cotton yarn much cheaper to our own market than we could possibly make them at home. I, as an individual, am deeply interested in the branch of cotton-spinning, having expended upwards of £10,000 in buildings, machinery and steam-engine, which I am confident would be entirely useless, wanting the encouragement of protecting duties on manufactured goods equal to what it is at present, as well as 12½ per cent. on cotton yarn. I understand there are some persons from this place and Belfast deputed to attend Parliament respecting the Cotton Trade, but I declined signing any petition, lest it might be thought offensive to Government.

Should it be thought advisable that 10 per cent. would be sufficient protection, I would then be thrown entirely idle, and more than 300 men, women, and children, left to starve, and would hope to be reimbursed the expence I have been at.

Should the Cotton Trade be sufficiently protected, as it is at present, I beg leave to state that it would not be amiss if the vote for the loan of money to manufacturers could be continued until December 1802 or 1803.

I beg leave to assure you, my Lord, I am, with the greatest respect, Yours, &c.,

JAMES WALLACE.

Mr. Madder to Lord Castlereagh, on the Irish Breweries.

James Street, March 28, 1800.

My Lord—In compliance with your Lordship's desire intimated to the deputation from the Brewers of Dublin who this day had the honour to wait upon your Lordship, we beg leave with great deference to suggest to your Lordship the following facts:

That the Brewers of this kingdom have, during the progress of the measure of Union, rested secure, relying for a continuance of the protection of that most valuable branch of manufacture upon the wisdom of Government, and convinced that, upon the basis of the measure, that of a mutual interchange of all articles, the manufacture or growth of either kingdom, their trade would be put upon an impartial and equal footing.

That, on the contrary, it now appears that, should the measure take place in its present form, the protecting duty, under the operation of which the Brewery has grown into considerable prosperity, would be entirely removed, and of course an unshackled importation of British beer permitted, whilst the materials, malt and malting corn, are to remain totally prohibited.

That, whilst free intercourse is established with respect to the manufacture, and total prohibition with respect to the material, the Breweries of the two countries cannot be placed upon an equal footing, because the prices of the materials considerably fluctuate in each country, and a disparity in point of price must constantly exist, which circumstance alone would,

as to the Brewery, totally destroy the very object proposed by the Union.

That the general quality of malt in England is infinitely superior to that of the malt of this country, probably in a proportion of at least 11 to 14, and the price in general considerably lower; besides, the English brewer has hops in his own market, to which market the Irish brewer must also resort, at a considerable expence and disadvantage.

From the above reasons, we are decidedly of opinion that no regulations can be made so as to place the intercourse upon a fair, unequivocal, and impartial footing, save that of admitting the materials as well as the manufacture, or the continuance of the present protecting duty.

Signed, for the Brewers of Dublin,

SAMUEL MADDER,
Master of the Corporation.

Mr. F. French to Mr. Marshall,
on the Misstatements, Financial and Commercial, of the Speaker.

Monday, March 10, 1800.

Dear Sir—I am sorry to find that the Speaker's speech will not be ready until to-morrow. I called for it at Moore's to-day. We conversed on Saturday about some of his misstatements, particularly his calculation of what Ireland would have owed at this time, if the Union had taken effect at the beginning of the war. He confounded the amount of the money borrowed by Great Britain, and that of the capital created in Stock; he then took a 7½ part of the amount of the Stock, which he called £185,000,000, from the beginning of the war until last March, and he contended that a debt of above £20,000,000 would at that time have been incurred by Ireland, instead of about £15,000,000, which she had really run in debt in March last; by this means, he also threw out the most expensive year of the war to Ireland. He also asserted that England had expended £32,000,000 last year, besides

the amount of the Income Tax, which I think he called £11,500,000. England did increase her debt last year above £32,000,000, but, as it was borrowed in the 3 per cents., the money raised was only £18,500,000. The Income Tax did not raise £11,500,000, nor was it laid for it; it was calculated to raise £10,000,000 per annum; but, as it was untried, it was only rated at £7,500,000 in the Ways and Means, adding the Irish expenditure of last year to the English debt; viz.

English debt	£32,500,000
Irish	5,000,000
Income Tax.....	11,500,000
He makes	£49,000,000

and he takes 7½, part of which would make above £13,000,000,[1] to the share of Ireland. Besides, his constant comparison of the debt of Ireland, which is for the most 5 per cent. Stock, with that of England, of which the greater part is 3 per cent. Stock, is not reasonable. £100 of each is not the same thing; a smaller sum pays the interest of the latter, and a smaller sum pays off the principal by buying it up at the market price. We also mentioned the broad assertion which the Speaker made, that the duty on Coals used in the manufactures of England was drawn back. This is so far from truth, that the manufacturers of London pay a double duty on that article—the coasting duty, and duty to the Duke of Richmond of 6*d.*, I think, per chaldron, and there is no drawback of either. Those manufactures which require large quantities of Coals are in general established in the Coal Counties, as the Hardware in Warwickshire, the Earthenware in Staffordshire, Glass and Brass in Lancashire, &c.; these, of course, pay no duty on Coal, and receive no drawback; but all the Coals which are used in the manufactures of England, which are conveyed by sea to the consumer, do pay a duty, and receive no drawback.

[1] According to my calculation, about half that sum.

Respecting the Woollen manufacture of Ireland, it may not be useless to remark, that it is not possible for her to increase it unless she obtains the coarse Wool of England. At present, the Wool produced in Ireland does not near supply her own consumption; her exports of Wool for the last three years are only—

Wool	£ 92
Woollen manufacture	10,387
Woollen yarn.....	20,081
In all	£30,560

while she imports above £600,000 worth from England, for clothing her inhabitants. Some fine wool may be had from Spain, but the coarse wool can be had from Britain alone. Whether it proceeds from the wetness of the climate, or what other cause, I do not know, but the Irish common people certainly wear twice as much wool as the English of the same rank, and that in some degree accounts for Ireland having no surplus for export.

The Speaker mentioned, among the proofs of the capacity of the two countries to bear taxes, the Post Office; but the rate of postage must be the same, before the slightest reliance can be placed on it. You must remember that the income of it was more than doubled in one year in England, by doubling the rate.

To the best of my remembrance, the Speaker urged pretty strongly that, if half a million, or any other sum, was saved by Ireland in her proportion of the expenditure for the United Government, so much must be lost by Great Britain. But I do not think that follows; for example, if the navy of England was divided between England and Ireland, and they expended one million more upon it than is expended at present, I do not think it would be so powerful an engine, offensive or defensive, as it is at present.

France might raise a naval force superior to either of the

parts it would then consist of, and they might fail to form a junction from various causes. The naval history of England, and that of the House of Bourbon, sufficiently illustrate this position; and I think it may in some degree be applied to the army and the militia of the United Kingdoms of England and Ireland.

I am afraid of trespassing too much upon your time: therefore, I shall mention but one matter more.

I think something might be urged upon the propriety and advantage to Ireland of bringing the Union forward at the present time. The jealousy of the commercial and manufacturing towns of England is not so likely to oppose what they might think disadvantageous to their interest, as they are so much engaged with more interesting objects which arise from the war; and, if they should make unreasonable objections, the Government of England is at present so strong, and the Minister so firm, that their clamours will not be attended to; but what is just and truly the interest of the empire will be persevered in more steadily than it could be at another time. When I have the pleasure of seeing you, I can explain some of these matters more freely. I intend to call with this letter, but I can hardly suppose that you will be at leisure to see me on such a busy day. However, if you have any time to spare to-morrow, I shall be happy to call on you at any time you may appoint.

Your obedient humble servant,

FRANCIS FRENCH.

END OF VOL. III.

F. Shoberl, Jun., Rupert Street.

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